

THIRTY-THIRD

# ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

**AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY,**

WITH THE

**PROCEEDINGS OF THE BOARD OF DIRECTORS,**

AND OF THE

**SOCIETY AT ITS ANNUAL MEETING,**

JANUARY 15, 1850.



WASHINGTON:

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THIRTY - THIRD

ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

AMERICAN COLONIZATION SOCIETY.

JANUARY 15th, 1850.

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Progress of the Cause.—Condition of the Republic of Liberia.

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THROUGH the merciful kindness of our heavenly Father, we are permitted to celebrate the Thirty-third Anniversary of the American Colonization Society. Another year of distinguished prosperity has drifted by. We contemplate the past, with feelings of gratitude and exultation. Progress has been made. Principles have received new strength and enlargement. The fountains of benevolence have poured forth their fertilizing streams. The tokens of divine favor, and the manifestations of Almighty Power have been liberally granted in every emergency. The spirit of emigration has been gradually increasing. Favoring gales have safely wafted the Society's vessels, freighted with expectant freeman, to their new homes on the shores of Africa. From their newly erected houses and their humble abodes, they have sent back such a voice of contentment, and such good news of the land, that many of their kindred and acquaintances, are preparing to follow them. The Republic of Liberia, though young as to years and small as to numbers, has displayed much of the wisdom of riper age, and the strength of vigorous manhood. Peace and prosperity have been in all her borders. The monster vices peculiar to that coast have felt, and withered under, the increasing influence of civilization and christianity. The native tribes have more tenderly felt the wretchedness of their barbarous condition, and been inspired with new zeal to imitate their more highly favored neighbors. Among the nations of the earth the fame of what Liberia has already done, has spread far and wide, and confidence in the stability of her institutions has been greatly augmented.

In illustration of these general statements, we present the following details of operations of the past year.

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Receipts last year—Emigrants sent to Liberia—Laura—Liberia Packet—C. Wright.

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The income from donations, or the voluntary offerings of individuals, has been greater during the past, than in preceding years. It has amounted upwards of \$33,000, while the whole receipts have been \$50,352 84. The expenditures have been \$55,743 05.

Very little money has been received from legacies in the past year. Several legacies were due the Society, but for some reasons were not paid.

William Short, Esq., of Philadelphia, for several years a Vice President of this Society, departed this life in Nov. last, leaving a legacy to this cause of \$10,000.

B. C. Staunton, Esq., late of Madison Co., Illinois, also departed this life in Nov. having left the bulk of his property for purposes of education in Liberia. It is supposed that it will amount to some 6 or \$8,000.

We would pay our heartfelt tribute of respect to the memory of these departed friends.

During the past year, we have sent *four hundred and twenty-two emigrants* to Liberia.

The barque Laura, sailed from New Orleans Jan. 22, with 151 emigrants, of whom 141 were from Miss., the last of the Ross family, and 9 were from Alabama. The cholera prevailed at New Orleans, while these people were in that city, and fifteen of them died of the disease. We employed a physician to accompany

them to Liberia, who did every thing in his power for their health and comfort on the voyage. But notwithstanding all his exertions, 13 of them died before the vessel reached Liberia. The expenses of sending out this expedition, owing to the peculiar circumstances, were much larger than is usual from that port.

The Liberia Packet sailed from Baltimore on the 24th Feb., with 55 emigrants, of whom, 46 were from Va.—2 from North Carolina—3 from Penn.—3 from New York, and 1 from Georgetown, D. C.

The Clintonia Wright sailed from New Orleans the 20th April, with 21 emigrants, all from Kentucky.

This vessel was chartered to accommodate the emigrants from Tennessee and Kentucky, who had gone to New Orleans for the January expedition, and finding the cholera prevailing there, returned home immediately. In March the cholera had so much abated, that it was thought expedient to send another vessel with those who had been waiting so long, and were so anxious to depart. Arrangements were accordingly made for them to sail in April. But just as those from Tennessee were about to start from Nashville, they heard such reports of the cholera again at New Orleans, and on the river, that they declined going. But then it was too late to postpone the expedition. The vessel had been

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Huma—Packet—Expenses increased by the Cholera.

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chartered, the purchases made, and the emigrants from Kentucky were on their way: so that instead of upwards of 100 emigrants, only 21 were sent in this vessel.

It will thus appear, that both the expeditions from New Orleans have been greatly interfered with by the prevalence of the cholera there, and rendered much more expensive to the Society.

The emigrants in Tenn. who went to New Orleans more than a year ago, and returned on account of the cholera, are yet in Tenn., awaiting another opportunity.

The barque Huma sailed from Savannah, Geo., 14th May, 1849, with 181 emigrants, of whom 116 were from Georgia, and 65 from S. Carolina. Few companies of better people than these have ever gone to Liberia. They were generally well supplied with the comforts and conveniences of life. One hundred and three of them could read, and thirty could write. Twenty-four of them had purchased themselves and paid an aggregate of \$15,750, the product of their own industry. Several of them were manumitted by their masters, that they might accompany their kindred and friends who were going to Liberia. As most of these were valuable slaves, their masters deserve much credit for their great liberality. Few individuals in any part of the country, have contributed

as largely during the year to colonization purposes as they.

Four of the company were preachers, and 69 were professors of religion; and five of them were native-born Africans, who though at an advanced age, seemed thrilled with joy at the idea of again seeing the land of their birth!

The only other expedition which we have sent out during the year, was by the Liberia Packet, which sailed from Baltimore, August 1, 1849, with 14 emigrants, of whom 11 were from South Carolina, 2 from Virginia, and 1 from this city!

There were others who wanted to go in this expedition, but the Society was so much in debt, for those already sent, that it was deemed prudent to postpone their departure to some future time.

By reference to the account current appended to this report, it will be seen that the whole outlay for the transportation and support of emigrants during the year has been \$33,650 12. This is considerably above the average of \$50 for each emigrant, and is accounted for by the fact already stated of the prevalence of the cholera at New Orleans, by which the expenses of two expeditions were required, to do the work of one; and also by the fact that the charter of vessels has been unusually high during the year, owing doubtless to the great number employed in the California trade.

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Three Expeditions to be sent—State Societies.

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We have made arrangements for the departure of three expeditions within the next forty days. The Liberia Packet will sail from Norfolk, Va., on the 26th inst. We have 224 applicants for a passage in her, but shall send only about 160. A vessel will sail from Savannah, Geo., on the 14th February, with about 200 emigrants, and a vessel from New Orleans, the 26th February, with about 100.

It is very embarrassing, with our present empty treasury, and large debt, to be compelled to send out so many emigrants, so early in the year. But circumstances over which we could exert no control have rendered it important, if not indispensable, that these people should all go at the times appointed. Not to send them, would be ruinous to their prospects, and disastrous to our hopes of future usefulness. In obedience, therefore, to the resolution of the Board of Directors at their last annual meeting, we have agreed to send them, relying upon our auxiliary Societies, and a liberal and sympathising public for the means of defraying the expenses.

Among the encouraging events of the past year, we number the continued increase of applicants for emigration to Liberia. We think the fact is fully established that there will always be more persons desirous of, and needing, the aid of the Society, than it will be able to assist.

Strong hopes have been entertained that the states would take the matter in hand and make appropriations to aid in the colonization of their own free colored population. In Indiana, Ohio and Virginia, the people have petitioned their respective legislatures on the subject, and as far as we are informed they are very favorably disposed. Should they make liberal appropriations for the purpose, it would mark an era in the history of Colonization.

The several State auxiliary Societies still maintain their organizations, and have prosecuted the work of collecting funds with energy and zeal. From some of them we have received fewer remittances than we had anticipated; but they all speak of an encouraging interest in the cause among the mass of their citizens. The great state of New York, under the culture of the energetic and indefatigable secretary of that society, has done nobly, and taken the lead far ahead of any other. We mention the fact with a proud satisfaction, that we have received from their treasury during the past year about \$10,000, with the prospect of an increase for the year to come!

Among the individual friends and patrons of the cause, many have shown distinguished liberality. Often, in our times of trial and emergency, have our hearts been made to thrill with gratitude at the re-

## Prosperity of Liberia—The great want of Liberia.

ception of their munificent donations!

During the summer, we made an appeal for \$3,000 to send a large family of about 60, from near Murfreesboro', N. C., left by will of the late T. Capehart with the privilege of going, if the Society could defray the expenses. A gentleman in Alabama offered to be one of thirty who would give \$100 each for this purpose. We have the satisfaction of announcing that the amount has all been made up, and that the family will leave in the Liberia Packet on the 26th inst. Thanks, large and sincere we give the gentleman who proposed, and those who completed, this scheme.

In the history of the Republic of Liberia, the past year, there is much to awaken gratitude, and give encouragement for future and enlarged operations. Several new tracts of territory have been purchased, and treaties of peace and friendship made with the surrounding tribes. The slave trade at New Cesters has been entirely broken up, and at Gallinas it has been for the present stopped, with every prospect of its final extinction. To accomplish this object, President Roberts assures us in his last despatch, nothing is wanting but the means of purchasing the coast lying between the northern boundary of Liberia and the southern boundary of Sierra

Leone. The legacy of the late John Hoff, of Philadelphia, if we can receive it, together with the distinguished liberality of a gentleman in Cincinnati, and one in England, will very nearly, if not quite, make up the amount required.

The man-of-war, presented to the Republic by Great Britain, has proved a valuable acquisition, and rendered essential service to the commerce and welfare of Liberia. The income from duties and other sources, has been on the increase, and promises to be sufficient for all the expenses of the government. Considerable embarrassment, however, has been felt in consequence of the heavy debt, about \$6,000, incurred in fitting out the military expedition against the slave factory at New Cesters. Great credit is due to the men who planned and executed that undertaking.

The chief want of Liberia at present is an increased population of intelligent and industrious citizens, and enlarged resources for the support of schools, and the execution of internal improvements. On this point, it is pleasant to know that much interest is felt both in this country and in Liberia; and that measures are in progress to render them important assistance.

We have been much indebted to the Rev. John Miller, formerly of Frederick, Md., who while on a

## Concluding Remarks.

visit to Europe laid the cause before many distinguished individuals, and obtained some handsome donations to the funds of the Society. He appeared before a committee of Parliament and underwent a rigid examination respecting the history, plans, principles and operations of this Society, and imparted to them an immense amount of information which they embodied in their report and published to the world. In this respect, he rendered a most important service to the cause.

In conclusion, we earnestly, affectionately, and importunately invoke the philanthropic every where to continue, and increase their generosity to our cause! We are able to show diligence on our part, in prosecuting the enterprise, and frugality in the use of all the pecuniary means placed at our disposal. The expenditure of the funds contributed by private benevolence has purchased, on a benighted coast, a territory of more than four hundred miles in extent, has chartered ships, transported to the home and continent of their fathers, 6,653 of our free people of color, who have formed, and are capable of maintaining a prosperous and independent government; has brought under the canopy of Liberian law more than 80,000 hitherto wild and untutored savages, has abolished the slave trade for several hundred miles on

the coast, has founded schools, churches, and printing presses, has cleared farms and sprinkled abroad the green tints of agriculture, has established the temples of justice, transplanted our beautiful arts to a distant continent, and carried our mother tongue to where it will become the language of millions for ages to come; and above all, and by means of all, established the institutions of our holy religion in a land hitherto shrouded in the deepest heathenish darkness! LIBERIA is a Republic reared by private benevolence. It demonstrates what may be done with adequate means at command. The work is now comparatively easy. The experiment has been made. The true policy has been discovered, and all the preliminaries settled. The means and appliances are well understood. The business is reduced to such a perfect system, that every mite now contributed can be made to achieve direct results to its utmost possible capacity. We therefore call upon all to strengthen our hands and encourage our hearts, for the work of a century yet remains to be done. Liberia needs more of our people, that she may send her influence eventually into the heart of Africa. They are anxious to go, and shall we forbid them to cherish the hope that they may one day plant their feet on the soil which once their



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 Annual Meeting of Society—Officers elected.
 

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fathers trod! The claims of humanity and the commands of the Most High summon us to redoubled zeal and activity! The time has come when the resources of the Society must be greatly enlarged, or it must falter in the work which is demanded of it. This whole nation is now called upon by the highest considerations of duty, interest and religion, to come forward and press

the work to its consummation. A spirit should go abroad every where, kindling the hearts of the people to the completion of an enterprise on which depends our nation's highest glory, and the redemption of Africa. Ten thousand hearts should respond to every appeal of the Society, and ten thousand hands should be stretched forth with necessary relief!

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 Minutes of the Annual Meeting of the American Colonization Society.
 

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COLONIZATION ROOMS,  
Washington City, 15 Jan. 1850.

THE American Colonization Society met at 7 o'clock in the 1st Presbyterian Church.

The Hon. Henry Clay, president of the Society, took the chair.

The Rev. John Maclean, D. D., of Princeton, N. J., opened the meeting with prayer.

The Hon. Henry Clay then delivered an address appropriate to the occasion.

The Secretary, Rev. W. McLain, presented the annual Report, and read extracts therefrom. After which it was referred to the Board of Directors.

Addresses were then delivered by Robert G. Scott, Esq., of Richmond, Va., Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Brooklyn, N. Y., and by the Rev. R. R. Gurley, of this city.

After which it was resolved that

the Society adjourn to meet in the Colonization Rooms to-morrow morning at 9½ o'clock for the election of officers.

Adjourned.

— January 16.

The American Colonization Society met at 9½ o'clock, pursuant to adjournment.

The Hon. DANIEL BRECK, of Kentucky, was called to the chair in the absence of the President.

The minutes of the last meeting were read.

The Hon. HENRY CLAY was elected President of the Society.

The following persons were elected Vice Presidents:

1. General John H. Cocke, of Virginia.
2. Daniel Webster, of Massachusetts.
3. Charles F. Mercer, of Florida.
4. Rev. Jeremiah Day, D. D., of Conn.
5. Theodore Frelinghuysen, of N. Y.
6. Louis McLane, of Baltimore.
7. Moses Allen, of New York.
8. General W. Jones, of Washington.
9. Joseph Gales, of Washington.

## Annual Meeting of Board of Directors—Delegates appointed.

10. Right Rev. Wm. Meade, D. D., Bishop of Virginia.
11. John McDonogh, of Louisiana.
12. Rev. James O. Andrews, Bishop of the Methodist Episcopal Church.
13. William Maxwell, of Virginia.
14. Elisha Whitteley, of Ohio.
15. Walter Lowrie, of New York.
16. Jacob Burnet, of Ohio.
17. Dr. Stephen Duncan, of Mississippi.
18. William C. Rives, of Virginia.
19. Rev. J. Laurie, D. D., of Washington.
20. Rev. Wm. Winans, of Mississippi.
21. James Boorman, of New York.
22. Henry A. Foster, of New York.
23. Dr. John Ker, of Mississippi.
24. Robert Campbell, of Georgia.
25. Peter D. Vroom, of New Jersey.
26. James Garland, of Virginia.
27. Right Hon. Lord Bexley, of London.
28. Willard Hall, of Delaware.
29. Right Rev. Bishop Otey, of Tenn.
30. Gerard Ralston, of London.
31. Rev. Courtland Van Rensselaer, N. J.
32. Dr. Hodgkin, of London.
33. Rev. E. Burgess, D. D., of Mass.
34. Thos. R. Hazard, of R. I.
35. Dr. Thomas Massie, of Virginia.
36. Major Gen. Winfield Scott, of Washington.
37. Rev. A. Alexander, D. D., of N. J.
38. L. Q. C. Elmer, of New Jersey.
39. James Railey, of Mississippi.
40. Rev. Geo. W. Bethune, D. D., of Phila.
41. Rev. C. C. Cuyler, D. D., of Phila.
42. Elliot Cresson, of Philadelphia.
43. Anson G. Phelps, of New York.
44. Rev. Leonard Woods, D. D., of Massachusetts.
45. Jonathan Hide, of Maine.
46. Rev. Beverly Waugh, Bishop of the M. E. Church, Baltimore.
47. Rev. Dr. W. B. Johnson, S. C.
48. Moses Sheppard, Baltimore.
49. Bishop McIlvain, of Ohio.
50. Rev. Dr. Edgar, Nashville, Tenn.
51. Rev. P. Lindsley, D. D., of Tenn.
52. Hon. J. R. Underwood, of Kentucky.
53. Rev. J. J. Janeway, D. D., of N. J.
54. H. L. Lumpkin, Esq., Athens, Geo.
55. James Lennox, of New York.
56. Bishop Soule, D. D., of Tennessee.
57. Prof. T. C. Upham, of Maine.
58. Hon. Thomas Corwin, of Ohio.
59. Hon. Thos. W. Williams, of Conn.
60. Hon. Simon Greenleaf, of Mass.
61. Rev. John Early, D. D., of Virginia.
62. Rev. Lovick Pierce, of Georgia.
63. Hon. R. J. Walker, of Mississippi.
64. Samuel Gurney, England.
65. Charles McMicken, Esq., Cincinnati, Ohio.
66. John Bell, M. D., Philadelphia, Pa.

After which the Society adjourned to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1851, at 7 o'clock.

## Minutes of the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society.

COLONIZATION ROOMS,  
Washington, 15 Jan. 1851.

THE hour of 12 o'clock, to which the Board of Directors of the American Colonization Society stands adjourned, having arrived, and there not being a quorum present, it was resolved that we adjourn to 9½ o'clock to-morrow morning.

January 16.

The Board met according to adjournment.

Certificates of the appointment of the following delegates to the Board of Directors were handed in:—

- |                                |                             |
|--------------------------------|-----------------------------|
| Hon. J. Whitcomb,              | } Indiana S. Col. Society.  |
| Hon. E. W. McGaughey,          |                             |
| Robert G. Scott, Esq.,         | } Virginia S. Col. Society. |
| Rev. Philip Slaughter,         |                             |
| Anson G. Phelps, Esq.,         | } New York Col. Society.    |
| Moses Allen, Esq.,             |                             |
| Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D.,     |                             |
| Francis Hall, Esq.,            |                             |
| Rev. G. Spring, D. D.,         |                             |
| Dr. D. M. Reese,               |                             |
| Rev. J. Knox,                  | } N. Jersey.                |
| Rev. J. B. Pinney,             |                             |
| Hon. L. Q. C. Elmer,           | } N. Jersey.                |
| Rev. John Maclean, D. D.,      |                             |
| Hon. Mr. Underwood,            | } Kentucky.                 |
| Hon. H. Marshall,              |                             |
| Hon. Daniel Breck,             |                             |
| Rev. W. D. Shumate, Missouri.  |                             |
| Rev. J. Tracy, Massachusetts.  |                             |
| Rev. W. McLain, Life Director. |                             |

The Hon. DANIEL BRECK, was

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Secretary and Treasurer and Executive Committee elected—A College in Liberia.

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called to the chair, and the Rev. JOSEPH TRACY, was chosen Secretary of the Board.

The minutes of the last annual meeting of the Board were read by the Secretary of the Society.

The report of the executive committee to the Board was read by the Secretary of the Society, and ordered to be referred to a special committee. Messrs. Pinney and Tracy were appointed.

The Annual Report was referred to the same committee.

Messrs. Phelps and Maclean were appointed a committee to examine the Treasurer's accounts.

The officers for the last year were re-elected, and were as follows :

Rev. William McLain, Secretary and Treasurer—Matthew St. Clair Clarke, H. Lindsly, Elisha Whittlesey, Jos. H. Bradley, A. O. Dayton, J. S. Bacon, and William Gunton, Executive Committee.

On motion of Rev. J. B. Pinney,

*Resolved*, That the subject of a periodical, or the establishment of a newspaper by this society, be referred to a committee of two.

Messrs. Bethune and Slaughter were appointed.

The following paper was submitted, and referred to a committee consisting of Messrs. Maclean, Phelps, and Tracy.

The Board of Managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, in obedience to a vote of the Society, passed at its last annual meeting, have appointed a committee to report on the formation of a Board of Trustees for a fund for collegiate education in Liberia. The committee still have

the subject in charge ; and the prospect is, that they will be able to select a small Board of gentlemen who will consent to serve, and who will entirely command public confidence, and that some amount of funds will be given.

The Board and its Committee are perfectly aware that it is impossible immediately to establish in Liberia an institution which would deserve the name of a college in this country ; but they are fully persuaded that the work ought to be done as soon as practicable, and that the necessary preparatory measures ought not to be deferred.

In this stage of the business, the Board requests such notice from the parent Society as may best promote this important object.

By order of the Executive Committee,  
JOSEPH TRACY,  
Secretary.

Adjourned to meet at 5 P. M.

—  
Wednesday, 5 P. M.—met according to adjournment.

The committee on the Treasurer's account reported, that they had examined the same and found it correct and satisfactory. The report was accepted.

A letter having been received from the Rev. R. R. Gurley, who has lately been in Liberia in the employment of the U. S. Government, offering to communicate any information in his power concerning the condition of that Republic,—it was voted, that he be invited to meet us for that purpose to morrow at half past nine o'clock, A. M.

The committee on the Report of the Executive Committee to the Board, reported in part. Their report was recommitted for completion.

The committee on the publication

A new Paper contemplated—Committee appointed thereon.

of a periodical presented their Report, which is as follows:—

The committee to which was referred the subject of a newspaper beg leave respectfully to report;

That it seems on many accounts desirable that the Society should have some cheap and ready medium of communicating intelligence respecting the cause throughout the country; and it is in accordance with the judgment of other benevolent societies that such a publication is among the best, if not the best agency for increasing the funds as well as the influence of the enterprise.

Your committee therefore recommend the establishment of such a paper, that is to say, a newspaper of the size of the American Messenger, to be issued once a month, in the city of Washington.

It appears from estimates placed before your committee, that 25,000 copies of such a paper can be published at less than a cost of \$4,000 per annum, exclusive of the salary to the editors.

Should the Board adopt the recommendation to establish the said paper, your committee would recommend a discontinuance of the African Repository, and suggest that if it is thought desirable, such subscribers as prefer, may have the paper in a quarto form.

The committee do not extend their report, as the details of the business arrangements connected with the establishment of such a paper, must necessarily be made subjects of discussion by the Board and their Executive Committee.

All which is respectfully submitted.

GEO. W. BETHUNE,  
PHILIP SLAUGHTER.

Adjourned to half past nine o'clock to-morrow.

—  
January, 17.

The Board met according to adjournment.

The Rev. R. R. Gurley was present, according to invitation given yesterday, and communicated information concerning Liberia, after which, it was

*Resolved*, That the thanks of the Board be presented to the Rev. Mr. Gurley, for the interesting and important information with which he has favored us.

The chairman being obliged to

retire, the Rev. Dr. Bethune was called to the chair.

The same committee reported, that the annual Report be referred to the Executive Committee for publication; which was ordered.

The Committee to whom was referred the communication from the Executive Committee of the Massachusetts Colonization Society, respectfully submit the following resolutions for the consideration of the Board—and recommend its adoption.

*Resolved*, That this Board have learned with much pleasure, that the subject of establishing a College in Liberia, has engaged the attention of the managers of the Massachusetts Colonization Society; and to the utmost of their ability, this Board will co-operate in so important an enterprise:—yet they deem it expedient to leave this matter to be matured by their friends in Massachusetts, who have already taken it in hand.

*Resolved*, That the legacy bequeathed by the late Mr. Stanton of Illinois, and to be expended in promoting the cause of education in Liberia, be invested as soon as received; and that this legacy be sacredly kept as a part of a permanent fund for the endowment of a College in Liberia, provided that the provisions of the Will, will admit of this being done.

JOHN MACLEAN, *Chairman*.

The report was accepted, and the resolutions were adopted.

The report on Periodicals was taken up—after discussion, it was

*Resolved*, That a committee of three be appointed, with full powers to carry into effect, should they deem it expedient, the principles of the above report. Rev. Drs. Bethune, Maclean and Mr. Phelps, were appointed as said Committee.

The minutes were read and accepted.

Voted, that when this Board adjourns, it be to meet on the third Tuesday of January, 1851, at 12 o'clock, M.

Voted that this Board now adjourn. The meeting was closed with prayer by the Rev. Dr. Bethune.

DANIEL BRECK, *Chair'n*.  
JOSEPH TRACY, *Clerk*.

*From 1st January, 1849, to 1st January, 1850.*

To Balances due the Society per last report,	\$6,907 30	By Balances due by the Society per last report,	\$8,746 39
Receipts from the following sources, to wit:		Payments for the following objects, to wit:	
Donations, - - - -	30,880 99	Passage of emigrants, charters of ves-	
Colonial Store, - - - -	1,816 61	sels, provisions, &c., - -	33,909 81
Colony of Liberia, - - - -	105 00	Salaries of the Colonial Physician, and	
Legacies, - - - -	1,746 31	his assistants, - - - -	1,754 49
Emigrants, - - - -	5,585 60	Paper for the African Repository, and	
African Repository, - - - -	2,013 48	printing, - - - -	3,385 69
Other sources, - - - -	1,033 29	Salary of the Secretary of the Am. Col.	
Profit and loss, - - - -	244 26	Soc., rent of office, clerk hire, &c., -	2,601 61
		Compensation to agents, and other ex-	
Total receipts, - - - -	\$50,332 84	penses in collecting funds, - -	3,847 65
Balances due by the Society, - - - -	12,707 37	Contingent expenses, - - - -	472 14
		Profit and loss, - - - -	1,025 27
		Total expenditures, - - - -	\$55,743 05
		Balances due the Society, - - - -	7,297 16
	\$63,040 21		\$63,040 21

COLONIZATION ROOMS, *Washington City, January 1st, 1850.*

NOAH FLETCHER, *Book-Keeper.*

The Committee to whom was referred the Treasurer's Account, beg leave to report—That they have carefully examined the same, and compared it with the vouchers, and find the above statement correct and satisfactory.

ANSON G. PHELPS, } *Auditors.*  
JOHN MACLEAN, }

Mr. Clay's Address—Report of.

## Addresses delivered at the Annual Meeting.

Mr. CLAY said :—

I have been requested by gentlemen of the Society, and others, who are in attendance, to express the wish of the congregation, by whose kindness we are enabled to occupy, this evening, this house, that there will not be on this occasion, any manifestation of public applause, which seems to be inconsistent with the place as well as with the feelings of the Society. \* \*

I take occasion to say I meet you, fellow members of the Colonization Society, with very great satisfaction. It is our annual assemblage, it is the thirty-third year of our existence as a Society. We commenced with the declared purpose of confining our exertions to the colonization of the free people of color of the United States, with their own consent. To that great principle, and to that restriction of our exertion, we have constantly and faithfully adhered. During the existence of the Society we have met with every species of difficulty and obstruction. We have been in the attitude of a person standing between two fires, the ultraism of the North, and the ultraism of the South. The great masses, however, gentlemen of the Society, in both of these sections are, I believe, impartial. The enlightened masses have been with us, and we meet upon this occasion, under circumstances of peculiar encouragement, whether we look to Africa, or at home within our own country.

In glancing over Africa, we behold there the most gratifying results of the perseverance of the Society. Under the blessing of an All-wise Providence, we have brought into existence a State—a Commonwealth—a people self-governed, and that of a race which many have supposed were truly incapable of self-government; for, I understand, that there is not a solitary white man concerned in the administration of the government of Liberia. It is all their own work, and shows discretion, judgment and good sense. Indeed, the State papers which I have seen from that infant Commonwealth, would do credit to the more ancient States of our own Confederacy. They possess stability, order, law, and the means of education, and a devotion to that God, who has blessed them and us, in the noble enterprise in which we have been engaged. If we look at home, fellow-citizens, we shall find great cause for gratification and satisfaction. Every where I think opposition to the Society, and to its progress and success, has greatly abated.

Public opinion is becoming more and

more sound every day in regard to the solution of the great problem which the Society has presented, of the practicability of the redemption of Africa from barbarity, and the transportation from our own country of an unhappy race, which it is impossible to amalgamate with the larger portion of the people of this country. It is no longer a debateable question, whether colonies can be successfully planted upon the shores of Africa. It is no longer a debateable question whether it is practicable, with the application of adequate and sufficient means, to transport, from time to time, free colored persons of the United States, those now free, with their issue, and those who may become free by the acts of their owners, who may hereafter think proper to emancipate them. These are causes, fellow-citizens, of satisfaction with our past exertions, and of stimulus to our future efforts. I have, however, risen upon this occasion not to make a speech. I have made these remarks merely as introductory to the proceedings of the Society. The Secretary will presently proceed to read the report of the transactions of the Society during the past year, and the present condition of the republic of Liberia—the independent republic of Liberia—the acknowledged republic of Liberia—acknowledged (and that is saying a great deal,) by two or three of the greatest powers on earth.

From that report you will learn what has been done during the past year. You will learn, among other things, that there have been far less settlers transported to the Colonies of Africa than we could have desired; yet there has been an encouraging number—a number great for our means—and if the funds of the Society had been more adequate there would have been a larger number. We learn that, during the current year, a large number of applicants, amounting to six or seven hundred, are already registered, desiring to be transported to Africa; and when that public opinion, to which I have adverted, shall ripen into a settled conviction of the benefits that will flow to both quarters of the world, Africa and America, and the prosecution with vigour and energy of the great cause of Colonization, that report will show us that there has been formed a system of liberal education by public authority, and thus ultimately the efforts of the society may be carried to an extent corresponding with their wishes, and the goodness of the cause in which they are embarked.

The Secretary will proceed, gentlemen, to read to you the reports of the transactions

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of the Society during the past year, and after that other gentlemen will follow, in proposing various ways and means, making their propositions worthy of your notice, I am sure, by the eloquence which will be employed in recommending them for your adoption.

The annual report was read by the Rev. Mr. McLean, secretary of the Society.

ROBT. G. SCOTT, Esq., of Va., said:—

Mr. President,—In seconding the motion to accept the report and refer it to the Managers to be printed, I beg leave to submit to you, sir, one of the fathers of this noble and most philanthropic undertaking, who for thirty odd years has stood by, through good and evil report, (and we find you here to-night again to counsel and aid us in this great work,) and give some considerations in favor of this most admirable undertaking. Fifty years ago, from this city went up the voice of one of the best and greatest men our Union has ever produced, in favor of this, now, I will venture to say, proved admirable undertaking—blessing the white man and the black. From the pen of the President of the United States, Thomas Jefferson, first was traced the suggestion, that Africa should become the home of the civilized black man. The State from whence I came, sir, and by whose authority I am here to-night, in the year 1800, through her legislature, directed their then governor of the State (Mr. Monroe,) to apply to Mr. Jefferson, who was then the President of these United States, to take action, to carry out that which this Society, like the grain of mustard seed, sown but yesterday, and now grown to be a mighty tree, has accomplished by its own unaided public—comparatively public—unaided assistance.

The subject came up, and from time to time was one of great and constant consideration for the legislature of Virginia, and in 1804, the mind of the President still being fixed upon accomplishing this great end, he addressed a communication to Governor Page of Virginia, in which he brought the subject up again and pressed it upon him for action; and it was there had. No final step was taken from that period until 1816. The public mind had not been prepared for action. It was a great undertaking, for not only those living then, but which was to go down to our children, and our children's children to the remotest generation who shall come after us. You are to direct the public mind. The subject requires consideration and deep deliberation; that was had in some degree in 1816, and then for the first time was this society organized. Thirty-

three years have passed by since we were first brought together in this great work. What do we mean to accomplish by the undertaking? By what means, I pray you Mr. President, do we mean to act? We come together to restrain no one, we come together not by the authority of the law, but by the impulses and dictates of our own hearts, actuated by our best judgments. We go to the hut of the black man, we tell him this is no place for you or yours, we offer him another home from whence his fathers came; we appeal to every passion that can operate upon the human mind and human judgment of a proper character; we present to him a bright and beautiful future, and offer him a home for all time to come; we ask not the iron hand of the law to drive him from the land of his nativity, and separate him from the ties that bind him to his kindred. No, sir, no, we rise above that; we go and teach him—appeal to his judgment, his heart and his interest, and say, if we can get him with us we are content. We touch not the rights of property, Mr. President; we leave that to the fanatics of the North; we have enemies North and South. No, no, Mr. President, I did not wish to utter the term enemy; I cannot believe that it is in the hearts of men, just, honest and fair men—men of stable judgment, who have a single particle of principle, to harbor in their breasts the feeling of enmity to this Society. No, sir, I cannot believe it. I can understand how he may be an opponent of it. I have used too harsh an expression; there can never be a man an enemy to such a noble undertaking as this; he may be the opponent, but he can never be the enemy—in the sense of the term enemy. I say we touch not the rights of property; we interfere with the rights of no one; that is not the means by which we operate; but, I pray you, Mr. President, upon whom are we acting? The black man—the free black man; the man upon whom He that has made us all, placed the mark of separation from us; who socially and politically can never mingle with the white man as his equal in the same land. There must be superiority to the one caste or the other, among us. If we release him from the condition of servitude, he is yet a slave; he must carry with him the ties to his freedom; he passes from village to village, from county to county, and possibly from State to State. But he must always carry the evidences of his right to his freedom in his possession, subject at any moment, with us at least, Mr. President, with us at the South, to be taken up and put in prison; he must produce the evidence, and also the seal of

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that court in which that evidence is recorded. It is no reproach, none under the sun, upon the people of the South, where this is exacted; it is stern necessity; prudence and safety demand it at their hands, and such is the legislation there. Nominally he is a freeman, but look at him—in what condition do you find him useful. I speak of this people as a class, Mr. President; there are single exceptions to that; I speak of them as a class, and I appeal to you, with your knowledge, and to all who are within the sound of my voice, that come from a slave-holding State. How often it is you find a sprightly, industrious and correct slave, whose kind and benevolent master has emancipated and set free, and who has become, thereafter, a worthless, idle and drunken vagabond—a burden upon the public in our cities. How often is it, and why, I pray you, is this? the answer is to be given by every intelligent man; there is no bright prospect, there is no clear sunshine of the present day, and there is no hope for the future.

Every stimulant to virtuous action, every motive to industrious habit is taken away. He lives, as the moving creature upon the face of the earth, lives also, for mere animal indulgence, and this must forever be the condition of the free black man in this country, as long as the white man is the master and gives law to this country.—The professions are closed to him—the pursuits of a mercantile character are equally shut out from him; he remains to perform the most humble duties, and under circumstances, constantly humiliating to every spirit of pride, ambition or elevation; such are the subjects, upon which we propose to act. Take him away, and by and by, it will be our duty to draw a different picture, when he shall have landed upon the coast of Africa and become there a man, with all the rights of a freeman, and in the enjoyment of them. Mr. President, it is subjects of this character, upon whom we propose to act. I have endeavored to depict the manner in which our efforts are to be directed. Is the scheme feasible? Is it practicable to remove from the limits of these United States, all the free black population within a reasonable time? I say a reasonable time, for this is not the work of a day, it is the work of years; and when the act of consummation comes, it blesses the black man and it leaves a blessing behind for the white man. In the year 1800, at the moment when the movement was first heard in Virginia, the free black population of the United States was one hundred and eight thousand. In 1820, when the first emigrant crossed the Atlantic ocean, and took his place upon the shores of Africa, that num-

ber had swelled up to the immense number of 238,000. In twenty years, it had more than doubled; it had added to its number 130,000 people in these United States. In that number it is true, there were 10,000 emancipated by a single law of the State of N. York. Take them both, and look at the increase from emancipation, and the natural increase, and you find the addition amounts to 128,000. This has more than doubled in twenty years. Mr. President, now sir, how stands the number at the moment I address you? We cannot exactly tell; but in the year 1840, we had within the limits of the United States, 326,000. The free black people are growing and increasing upon us. Virginia, who in the year 1830, had 49,000 free blacks, the number in that state has swelled up to 55,000. The new state of Ohio, that bright and mighty State of the West, has within her borders, 30,000 free blacks. These are the materials upon which we are to act. It is to remove them and their descendants, from the United States. Fold your arms, Mr. President, take no movement upon the subject—let the mischief grow, and you have got nearly a quarter of a million of free blacks.

Ten years hence, you will have a 100,000 added to it—and the number will go on and increase—twenty or thirty years from this time, you may count one million of free blacks in these United States—but if we now act, and if this action be one from the North to the South, from the East to the West; you have to remove about eleven thousand of these people every year; that is about the number of the natural increase of them. I assume the sum of a hundred dollars, to meet the entire expenses of removing from the United States to Africa, one of these free blacks and taking care of him for six months. Mr. Secretary, am I not right? (The Secretary replied that fifty dollars would do it.) I have doubled the sum, I take one hundred dollars, that is \$1,100,000 it will cost the country. It will take 1,100,000 dollars to keep one of your regiments in service during the year, a command of some six or seven hundred men, will cost you 1,100,000 dollars. I put it to you, sir, and I ask each one of those who hear me, from which the greatest benefit is to flow; whether to appropriate 1,100,000 dollars to keep a regiment in service or to take your 1,100,000 dollars to send 11,000 of an humble, degraded and unfortunate people to the shores of Africa. Where is this to come from? I have never seen yet, Mr. President, in any very great undertaking in this country, when the appeal was made directly to the American people, but it has been responded to; they have been ready to give it help and support. I will



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take the state of Ohio, and I will take the state of Virginia. For twenty years has she come up, and given ten thousand dollars a year, until she has contributed one fourth of the sum expended by the Colonization Society in this great cause; she has not given it grudgingly. In twenty years, she has given 200,000 dollars; now, sir, take one tenth part of this amount and divide it between these two states, making them give one fifth of the whole amount. You have provision to send away one fifth of the natural increase of the free blacks. Mr. President, if it has been found, that this thing is practicable, why should it not be done: Virginia has heretofore made an appropriation upon the subject; a large and very liberal one. Mr. President, the question may be asked, what will Virginia do: I answer, that during this winter, an appropriation will be made, and in a form, in which it will go with efficiency, throughout the borders of the commonwealth. I speak with some confidence upon the subject: men who have been bitter opponents of it, said, we have only hesitated and doubted, because we did not believe the thing to be practicable, and if you could get the free black men, to co-operate with us, the resources could not be had to remove them; they admit their error, and admitting, say they are prepared to vote the money. Well now, Mr. President, under such circumstances, there being 55,000 free negroes in Virginia, there can be removed 15,000 of them yearly, and soon we may be rid of this incubus.

How has it been proved to be practicable: by the establishment of a colony upon the coast of Africa, you have taken hence 8,000 emigrants. You have located them upon the western coast of Africa. We were told this was one of the most Quixotic undertakings in which men have ever embarked. No, sir, men have gone abroad, men have gone abroad to my personal knowledge. I speak now upon my personal knowledge; men have gone to the black man, and said we were attempting to take his home away; they have said to him; when they have taken you away or placed you upon the coast of Africa, you are to be a slave, you are a freeman here, you are to be made a slave there. We have received opposition of that sort; in their opinion it may be a conscientious, but it was a mistaken course, on the part of those, who have thus persuaded the free black man; but you have proved the practicability of this scheme by the establishment of your colony; and you have added thereto 700 miles of coast. But my estimate is a rough one. When I have

made 150 miles of slave coast; coast upon which the slave trade is still carried on; this is the estimate I have made; it is a rough one. But gentlemen, better informed than myself, well know they have a coast of 700 miles settled by the emigrants from the U. States, through the instrumentality of this unaided Society. You have got, Mr. President, you have got more still; you have penetrated the country, and brought under the government of this Republic, eighty odd thousand of the natives of the country, who submit to its authority; you have suppressed the slave trade for 700 miles upon this coast; you have built up towns, you have erected churches, you have put the school master among them; farms have been opened, and you have got all the marks of distinction of a well settled, civilized and intelligent people. I say you have done it; because here began the work; the black men have been the agents of the society. Sir, you have done more than all this; this is but the portico to the temple you have erected. Through the instrumentality of the Society, and by its agency, the National Legislature have passed a law, upon its application and by its petition, denouncing the slave trade to be piracy, and hang the creature, who should be engaged in it. This has been done by the Society; it was the instrument, the moving instrument, to work out that end, and yet, Mr. President, old England, mighty England, with all her enterprise, age and experience, with all her statesmen, she has spent \$150,000,000 in attempting to colonize the black man, but she has failed; she has failed in the West Indies; she has failed in her attempts at Sierra Leone, which she abandons; and tell me, sir, why it is, that you with a handful of men, in this young Republic, have thus risen above her. But the other day, Mr. President, she has acknowledged upon this subject, your superiority by acknowledging the independence of the young, lovely, and beautiful Republic of Liberia. Why is it? She worked in her colonization schemes and continues so far as I know, in her scheme in the West Indies by the soldier and the bayonet. Hers is to be accomplished by the bayonet, she uses the white man as one of the instruments of carrying out her system of colonization. We have learned wisdom from her failure and experience.—You work not by the troops, not by the armed vessels, not by the bayonet or the soldier; you work by the moral appeal, by reason, by acts of justice, recognized by our forefathers, by an appeal to the intelligence of those upon whom you act; but Mr. President, you act always through the main instrumental-

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ty of the black man. You work by your churches, your school houses, your work shops, your plough-shares, and you carry out your scheme of colonization by putting the black man there; making him take the front rank. But the other day, comparatively, Mr. President, this Republic was an infant. With more than a father's care, with the care of a kind mother, you have taken the infant, the instant it could stride a step, and led him on, continuing to aid and assist him, until he has acquired the sinew and power of a man, and then put him off to take care of himself. That is the condition of the Republic of Liberia. Yes, sir, it is the noble effect of your labor for thirty odd years; it was the labor of centuries. You have taught these men the art of self-government, and they have not only an organized government, but one of the very best that can ever be devised. I am very particular to announce that there is a feature in that government, that marks it as one of the highest degree of wisdom. It forbids a white man a single foot of soil in Liberia, as I would forbid the black man a single foot of soil in the United States. They have taken care to follow the command of Him who commands all things; the white man and the black man can never sit down as equals. We should publish to the world, and proclaim it one of the wisest and best acts. I would publish this truth in the ear of fanatics—it will not do to keep the white man and the free black man together; they may have the semblance of freedom, but the superiority will make one the slave of the other. Mr. President, such is the work, and such is the condition in which we find it—shall we go on? why not? If it were to be begun to-day, I would say begin it; but with these cheering prospects before us, if it is a work of more than a century, we have good ground to believe, that century after century blessings will only *increase, INCREASE, INCREASE*, as we grow older, and understand these matters better. Mr. President, a very good and a very wise man said, that, although he believed that he would die to-morrow, he would plant a tree to-day—he lived not for himself, he did not exist for the moment, he looked forward to the future; and looking to that future, if we take up this matter, and calculate it according to dollars and cents, what have we not for the future? seven hundred miles of sea coast, and territory sufficient to accommodate all the black population of these United States, and country capable of raising all the leading and great products of the tropical climates, cotton, corn, rice,

sugar and coffee, in the hands of a frugal, active, industrious people. It tells us that hereafter it is to become infinitely broader than at present. We may hereafter see the commerce of this growing and great people upon the west coast of Africa, exercising the most beneficial influence upon our own commerce; taking away from us our spare manufactures, and our spare productions; we, taking in return what they can furnish us. I pass over the gold dust which is found there, but which we are said to get, and abundance, in California; so far I have seen very little, myself; I pass all these matters by, I look to the great essentials in this matter, and put the question to you, if we want to make this a question of dollars and cents, what infinite benefits we may count upon in the future.

This has one other feature in it; the brightest, and possibly the most beautiful of the whole. It carries back to the land of their fathers the descendants of those, who have been brought away and doomed to slavery; it checks, if not ultimately destroys, the slave trade, by the laws of this nation declared to be piracy in those indulging in it. Cover this coast with such a population as that, fill it with people such as you have sent there, and you need ask no treaty with England, France, or any other nation, to put down the slave trade. Now you need not spread a yard of canvass of any one of the armed ships of these United States, filled up with such a population as that, and occupying such a position as that in which you have placed the free black man; you have erected a Republic; you have put an end to the slave trade by these great blessings—in the accomplishment of this great design. Why shall not we go on? Those who are here will help us in this great work: It is owing to them, but more especially to you, sir, from whom we have received the cheering invitation to go on. We will go on with you, and help you in this great work as best we can.

The Report was accepted, and ordered to be printed.

The Rev. GEORGE W. BETHUNE, D. D., then offered the following resolution:

*Resolved*, That gratitude is due to Almighty God for his blessing upon our cause, and we take courage and go forward with redoubled zeal

Rev. G. W. Bethune, D. D.—Address.

The Rev. Dr. BETHUNE said :

I am not in the habit, sir, of making apologies when I rise to speak, because I think when one sees reason for not speaking, he should hold his tongue. But it is due to myself, sir, to say, that but for the public announcement which had been made of my name to speak upon this evening, I would most heartily desire to leave the discussion in the hands of the gentlemen who are to follow me, not for want of zeal in the cause, or any unwillingness to lift up my feeble voice in its behalf in any place or under any circumstances, but compelled, sir, to travel the whole of last night, I find myself with a nervous headache, that almost blinds me, and deprives me to a certain extent of the command of my thoughts and my utterance.

It is true, sir, I have endeavored to supply the want of sleep of the last night, with sleep this morning, but whoever has tried to take a morning nap in a Washington hotel will know with what success, and especially a hotel where the servants are *Irish*. The chatter of a negro quarter, may be sometimes annoying to the listener, but, sir, it is like the liquid Tuscan in a Roman mouth, compared with the vehement Tipperary.

There is another reason, sir, why I should have hesitation in speaking now. I should be lacking both in common sense and common modesty, did I not feel the difficulty of speaking upon a question like this, at a time when every thing relating to the black race, coming otherwise than from a Southern man, is looked upon with suspicion and jealousy, not, sir, that I would hesitate to avow my own sentiments; I would never live where I may not speak my conscientious opinions, but, sir, we are upon, as you have very justly said, a common ground here to-night, where no advocate of this cause has a right to compromise the Society by the expression of any individual opinion which might clash or in any way seem to be antagonistic to the opinions of others. I had however this consolation, sir, in coming here. I knew, sir, if you will permit me to say, I knew that you would open this meeting with some remarks. I anticipated that they would be short, but falling from a mouth that never uttered a word without meaning, and whose one sentence is worth in expression and force more than a hundred of such as mine.

I was very sure that principles would be advanced and established behind which I might venture to speak. I have no more fear of the collision of conflicting opinions than I should fear the spray of the ocean

after it had dashed against the adamant rock. It has been well said, sir, by yourself and by the gentleman who has preceded me, that this Society has suffered the most virulent opposition. It has been most truly opposed by the fanatics at the North, and the fanatics at the South. I call that man a fanatic, sir, who under the influence of a perverted conscience, allows malignity to take the place of benevolence; who lets himself to abuse without measure his honest and logical opponent; and is not willing to listen to reasons upon the question in which all are concerned. I care not where that man lives, whether at the North or in the South; East or the West—he is a fanatic, and he is dangerous just in proportion as he seems to himself to be conscientious, because his false conscience assumes the aspect, and to a certain extent, the force of right and of duty. There is an opposite fanaticism, and the imitation of the fanatic by those who have not the excuse, which vents itself in loud words and earnest denunciations; that I fear not. The blusterer always has been a coward, and is not to be dreaded by the wise man. Like the bubble, he bursts with his own wind.

When we began this cause, sir, or at least some time after we began it, after it gained sufficient strength to provoke the opposition of him who moves the hearts of the children of evil, we find that the Society was charged with doing absolutely wrong, wrong it was said to the cause of the black man, because it took away from the South the free black, instead of permitting him to remain like a thorn and a fester in the sides of those who were his brethren in bondage. This was charged against it. Another was that we took away the black man who had been born upon our soil, and who, by the arrangements of Providence, who gave him a birth-place here, had as much right to rest himself here as you. We were told again it was preposterous to talk of Christianizing the continent of Africa, where such instruments were to be used, the refuse, as was said, of the black race of the United States. Now, sir, what has been the consequence. What have we seen but this very remarkable fact, that the same people who have opposed the Society have adopted the very measures for which they impeach the Society, as to the taking away the black man of the South; it is notorious that they are doing it in various ways; it is notorious also, sir, that they have endeavored to establish colonies not exactly within the limits of the United States, but through their assistance, and to a certain extent liberal assistance, within the limits of the Brit-

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ish Possessions on the continent, and in their efforts to colonize, have moved the black man from the South, of which we were accused as a crime: taking him away from the soil he had a right to, and moving him away to the North, sir, whose frosts are as hurtful to his constitution as the heats of the South are to those of us who are born in the North. Nay, sir—*nay*, gentlemen, and as I see my friends with ready pens by me, I beg them to remember that I speak of him with respect. I honor him for being actuated by the very best intentions, however I might differ with him in the manner in which he carries them out. I speak of Mr. Garret Smith. Would to God his large heart was with us still. He himself has offered from his acres of wild land in the coldest section of the State of New York for a Colonization scheme. It seems then, sir, that they have acknowledged the truth of the classic maxim, that "it is lawful to learn from an enemy," for they have taken the first leaf out of our book. One thing, sir, we were told, we were reproached for endeavoring to persuade the people of the United States that Africa was the proper place for the black man; that this land of Christian privileges was the place to which Providence, who maketh the wrath of man to praise him, had brought him, and here he had remained. It has been said that we could not evangelize Africa through the instrumentality of such agents. What have they done, sir? Do you not remember the history of the negroes of the Amistad? God in his Providence sent them to our shores, and these very people they sent back again to Africa. Our opponents have patterned after us, and so far as they have proceeded their scheme is as much like ours as a badly managed scheme can be like a good one for the same purpose. Now here, sir, is the demonstration of it in the very mouths, in the hands of our most virulent opponents at the North in favor of our scheme, and sir, no doubt all the honest men there among them, will be with us still. We were told on the other hand at the South, by the fanatics there, it was preposterous to think of elevating the black man; God had made him inferior; God intended him for a servant; it was flat flying in the face of Providence, to endeavor to make him any thing else, and that he never could succeed: his whole history in all the past, from time immemorial, had been that of degradation, slavery, ignorance and misery. Sir, the history is true; such has been the history of the black man, and I consider that amidst all the wonderful events of this remarkable century in which we live, there is none so remarkable as the

present condition of the Republic of Liberia. What has been the history of the black man! Every where it has been that of slavery, of degradation, of ignorance even in Africa, in his own native land, is perfectly notorious to all who know any thing of the subject. He is in the condition of a slave who holds his life and all that he can call dear to him, at the will of his savage despot master; but, sir, go back to that book which Providence after the lapse of thousands of years has opened for us. We may read the records of his past history.

Go to the monuments of Egypt and you will find there the black man a slave—*emphatically* a slave. I believe you can scarcely find an instance in which he appears upon these monuments, in which he does not bear with him tributes about his person, or bearing tribute, in token that the people from whom he comes are subject to the Pharaohs of Egypt. It is supposed no one can make a calculation other than that of a supposition. It is supposed, however, that over that vast continent there can be scattered not less than a hundred and fifty millions; probably when we come to penetrate into its hitherto impenetrable depths we shall find them to be one quarter more, to judge of the area, and by what we know of certain portions of it very recently explored.

What has Africa been? I speak not of that section of Africa that was inhabited by other races. I cannot go into the romance of speaking of Egypt and its people; its kings, its philosophers, and its saints. I know very well, sir, every one knows, they were under, I speak of that portion of Africa inhabited by the black man—the woolly-headed African, (laughter,) and wherever he has these characteristics, he is in the deepest degradation; at least so far as explored. He has been for thousands and thousands of years so, and so far back that history tells us no other tale, and that gentleman who has but recently returned from Liberia, that gentleman who knows Liberia from a long residence, will tell you that no where upon the face of the earth—no where in time past or present has there, or does there, exist a superstition so base, so cruel, so horrid, so revolting, as that which reigns over the minds and hearts of the native Africans. It is true, sir, that the African always has been degraded; always been oppressed; always been in ignorance. It might be thought, sir, that one who had been crushed so long, could never rise, but like that giant of old, of whom we read in classic fable, upon whom Etna was put,

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that his breast is so bruised, his limbs so paralysed by the long pressure of the superincumbent weight, that he cannot erect himself as a man, and take any place in the way of advancement and civilization; but, sir, there is a light brighter than that of reason; there is a happy spring from a nobler source than that of passion; there is the light of religion and the light of promise shedding their rays far in the future.—What does that religion teach him? I know no one who has common sense will contend for the absolute equality of all men in physical strength, in intellectual, in ability to advance in the career of civilization. No one contends for this; I am speaking of those fundamental rights every man has or should be acknowledged to have. God made the black man as well as you or me, and unless we give up the Bible, which is the charter of our hopes, and the ground of our faith, we must believe he came from the same original pair, and we are brethren—brethren by the fiat of the Creator. We cannot divorce ourselves from this fraternity, except we fling off the devotion of our Father who is in Heaven, and when He who spake as never man spoke, and who justified his sympathy with the poor and the rich, and gave himself to the poor when He repeated from his divine lips the law of the ancient Israelites, and tells us we must love our neighbor as ourselves. He told you, sir, He told me, He tells all of us, that wherever a human heart beats, wherever a human mind glows, wherever a man stands in the image of God, there is our neighbor, whom we are bound to love as ourselves. I care not where he is; whether in China, whether in Africa, or whether it be in America. I care not who claims rule over him; he is my brother—he is my neighbor; I am bound to love him, and God will hold me accursed if I do not this. Nay, sir, through the teaching of God's Holy Spirit, I am taught my sins, and that there is but one fountain open for sin and uncleanness. When I follow the guiding of that Holy Spirit, and it leads me to the foot of that cross whence springs that living fountain of divine blood shed for the lost, the unworthy and the guilty, I find kneeling at the foot of that cross, washing himself in that same sacred stream, as welcome to my master as myself—as readily admitted into the family of God as the highest among the children of men; I find the black man washed in the same blood with me—sanctified by the same spirit; adopted by the same God, and made heir of the same happy immortality. How dare I refuse—how dare I refuse him all the strength of Christian sympathy and Chris-

tian benevolence; I know not how, sir. While that Bible lasts I must follow it; and sir, it is upon this principle that the Society is acting. We are, as you very justly observed, united by that simple article of our constitution which covers him, and doubtless does cover persons of different notions as a detail of its working, and gives us a right to differ; makes us sovereigns in our own spheres; while we are united in the great object; but, sir, I do not go too far, I am sure you will not refuse me permission to say, doubtless you assent to the proposition, that the Colonization Society is the combination of the true friends of the colored race in the United States. I mean the friends of the black man who desire to see him elevated. Now, sir, what do we see in the year '93 and 4? I am not good at dates, sir, but somewhere about there the negroes of St. Domingo, the whole of the population of that island, or the greater part of it, rose in revolt, and have endeavored to establish one ever since; endeavored to form themselves into some sort of a government. What do we see? Take that monkey empire, (laughter,) that has been the world's laughing stock; look at the result of their plans; Faustian the 1st, with his cordon of dukes and nobles around him, so that there can scarcely be a private man left in his dominions, (laughter.) There is the result in one part. Compare it, sir, with the Liberian Republic. Compare it with the enlightened, free and intellectual exercise of every principle and right that man can claim, moderated and held from excess by the wisest restraints and the most salutary arrangement. Sir, I do not believe there exists upon the face of the earth a government whose constitution is more liberal—more enlightened, or more judicious—having in it, we believe, the elements of greater permanence, than the Republic of Liberia. It is, sir, the black man—it is not the white man ruling over him as in Sierra Leone. It is not the white man forcing him on as in the British West Indies. Nor is it the black man where the mixed race is flogging him and chaining him as was done in the beginning of freedom in the West Indies. It is the black man governing himself—governing himself according to written statutes; governing himself with an enlightened view of his own worth, his own dignity, his relations to his fellow man, and his confidence in the power and justice of God, who loves his children—it were impossible to doubt it—who loves his children all alike, and alike vindicates his mercy by the history of that race, as well as our own. Now, sir, there is the reply that we make to the fanaticism

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of the South: Look at our Liberia, look at it, sir, we challenge investigation. The ships of almost every civilized nation have touched at its port; emissaries from our own country, or rather messengers, have gone to examine into the existing state of things, and if testimony has been unanimous, to any nation, it is that in favor of the Republic of Liberia. Nay, sir, it has been more than hinted at by the eloquent gentleman who has preceded me—Great Britain has acknowledged the superiority of our scheme over her own.

Since that, Clarkson, and by implication Wilberforce, has been actuated against us. These good men were brought into it, however, in the feebleness of their expiring years, at least Clarkson in his feebleness, to record a sentiment in opposition to our society. What has been the result? Great Britain in one of her best periodicals, and by one of her ablest men, have declared that Sierra Leone must be abandoned;—that it is a failure, and with the same voice they have pointed to the Republic of Liberia and declared it to be successful. Nay, after all the money that has been spent upon that very coast by Great Britain; by this country and others—money, sir, is but the simplest portion of the tribute we have given. We have sent our gallant officers to die upon that plague-smitten coast—many—many a family in this land—more in England, have been clothed in the sackcloth of bitterness from the loss of life wasted in good intentions, but miserable failures, to suppress the slave trade: but now, sir, for 700 miles of entire coast of that section of Africa, in a short time from the further part of Liberia to Sierra Leone, this Society will have destroyed the slave trade. What *navies* could not do, and what navies with millions of cartouches and hundreds of cannon, and thousands of men, our little republic with its little army and its little treasury have accomplished it. It is probable if the white man had done it, as my friend remarked, we should have exulted over it, it would have been claimed as a triumph of the white man's superiority; but, it has not. We have nursed him, sir—he was a child—but now the blackman is erect, tall and as strong as a man, but a child in intellect, in habit, and in foresight.

We had to nurse him; but he is now a man. I remember well, sir,—you remember it well, and many of us here, with what fear and trembling we ventured upon the experiment: but holy and wise men believed it possible especially to the career of that glorious man, that martyr to that cause, whose mind and heart had a strength rarely

paralleled; I mean *Buchanan*, the last white Governor of Liberia. The people who hear me may perhaps smile at it as an exaggeration. He was one of the greatest men that God ever made, in mind, in heart, or in appearance, after his career whom God sent—it seems to me—I am sure of it, God sent him to make the way for a black man to assume the reigns of government. He died, sir: and at last a colored man governs the colony, and he governs the colony better than it was ever governed before, not altogether in favor of his own credit—but also to the credit of the people, who have been nursed into self-government. What is a Republic without self-government. There is that colony—and that Republic—aye, sir, *Republics* are always *longer lived* than *monarchies*. It is the history of the world, unless perhaps some of the great empires of whose history we know comparatively very little. But, sir, that republic of Liberia will out live every kingdom of Europe, and may not live very long either to do that (applause.) Now, sir, I will not discuss this point only for a moment; here is the demonstration given that the black man can govern himself. We have made the demonstration sir, and it has been acknowledged sir, that he can govern himself. By whom, sir, have you stated that the Republic had been acknowledged—by whom, sir—would to God you had not been obliged to falter as your heart compels you to do—acknowledged by Great Britain and not by us: and why, sir? I am willing to give Great Britain the credit of philanthropy.—I do not forget that she has other qualities besides philanthropy; trade, sir, she loves trade. What was it that gave to it its predominance. I can trace no characteristics in the Anglo-Saxon that gave them more force than their characters, and that is their love of trade. You can trace it, sir, in all the history of the Anglo-Saxon race; but it has been from the republic of Netherlands, we have learned the great lesson of trade, and from whose shores went the Anglo-Saxons who have given to England her great national characteristic—*trade, TRADE, TRADE*. This is what the Anglo-Saxon conquers by and conquers for. Find me a spot, sir, upon the face of the earth where they have not smuggled a piece of their goods and merchandise. You cannot find a British port but there you will find the haunt of the smuggler, who are protected by those very forts. The far-famed Gibraltar, with its battlements and garrison, is little better than a smuggling port to take advantage of the weaker people of the Mediterranean and its neighborhood. But, sir, what is the case now?—there is a little

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chance of trade open upon a certain coast of our own continent. It looks small as a *musquito*; but, sir, the hum of that *musquito* has not been unheard across the broad Atlantic, and the queenly Victoria shakes hand by proxy with the breechless young vagabond who is called the king. For what, sir? for trade, to make money. I do not blame them; it is right to make money—if you can do it honestly; and I am sure we are the last people in this country, if we allow the Eastern States to belong to us—to say it is not right to make money. Sir, you have the motive for the acknowledgment of the independence of Liberia—I do not say that it is the only motive; I know of no greater mistake in morals than to suppose a man's actions spring from one motive, but the concurrence and concentration of different motives bearing upon the man; some are less easily deducted than others, but still always a combination.

God forbid I should question her (Great Britain) benevolence in the acknowledgment, but I fear it was done upon the chance of penetrating Africa through those rivers—I fear that her excellent Governor, Roberts, would have gone home without his acknowledgment. Now, sir, I believe that we are a philanthropic people, and I believe that we love to make money: but I say, sir, that the statesman who refuses to acknowledge the Republic of Liberia misses greatly his duty to the United States and to his country, misses greatly, I say, his duty to the United States and his country, as a commercial people. But, sir, I am trespassing upon a point which will be handled far more ably by my friend who has just returned from the coast of Africa. Therefore, sir, I leave the subject, congratulating ourselves again upon the great success, and congratulating no one more than yourself, to whose presiding skill and energy, and to whose high example we owe so much of our success in our scheme. You contributed the noblest donation of all, when you gave your name. But, sir, we may all in our little spheres rejoice. The smallest star in the firmament rejoices in the light that God has given it. But, sir, there are those of us here, if we look back to hours of conflict, we cannot say we are scarred with a hundred fights, because fortunately our armor was so proved, that the weapons struck upon us shivered in the grasp of the hand that struck it with all the vehemence that malignity could give it; but, sir, we can remember our hours of darkness: they were many: but how bright is the future! how happy to believe we have not simply planted a little shrub but a mighty tree, that has been sown

like a grain of mustard seed, which yet shall wave its branches laden with Celestial blessings over the continent of Africa; and to the millions of the colored race, in this connection, we cannot but rejoice that the colored man was brought here. Could he have been educated for this purpose—where, I ask you, sir, where could he have been educated for that career which he is now entering upon in Liberia—but in this land where constitutional rights are thoroughly understood, where the right of self-government is so clearly propagated, where the success of our blessed institutions have shown by an irresistible demonstration, that freedom is the best heritage of man?

## Rev. Mr. Gurley:—

I hope, Mr. President, that it may not be thought an affected display of devotion, if I venture to present my acknowledgment to Almighty God, that He has permitted me to stand here in the midst of you this evening after a recent visit to the Republic of Liberia. It was a place visited by me in the days of my youth, and I thank God that I am permitted to stand in the presence of this Society, after having trod a second time, after a quarter of a century, the heights of Monrovia. In the year 1824, during the struggles of this Government, I stood by the side of the ever to be lamented and illustrious Ashmun, the first Governor of that colony. I know, sir, that after the impressive speeches to which this audience have listened, and at this late hour—I appear before this assembly under some peculiar disadvantages, but I should be unfaithful to the dictates of my own conscience, if I did not venture to occupy a few moments in some statements in regard to what I have observed in this interesting Republic of Liberia.

Mr. President, there has been great progress made by the settlers upon the African coast since the day when I first observed them, at that time, not exceeding 200 in number, having just pitched their tents on the borders of that great wilderness—having assembled for the first time, they erected a hut with a thatched roof which was dedicated to the service of God, and adopted their simple and imperfect form of civil government: under that government, during the period of the last twenty-five years, the town of Monrovia has come into existence, containing some 400 well constructed houses, many of them were built of durable and substantial building stone, and many of the warehouses were built of the enduring rocks dug out from the foundations of that cape: all of these were well constructed and com-

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fortable habitations and occupied by a peaceful, law-abiding, intelligent, thriving and advancing community, whose churches gave evidence of their attachment to religion, and whose manners were not exceeded by those of any community in this country or any other which it has been my privilege to visit. Sir: it was about two months that I was permitted to remain upon that coast, and every day or every other day I was accustomed to go on shore and mingle freely with the population of the various settlements of Liberia. I spent about a fortnight at Monrovia, from which I proceeded to Bassa Cove where there are very prosperous settlements near the sea, and one thriving and promising settlement upon the beautiful river of Saint John's. From this I proceeded to Sinou, which is distant about 70 miles from Bassa Cove. I there saw the emigrants recently sent to the colony, by this Society, from the State of Georgia. I would observe that a more thriving and intelligent community has not been planted upon the shores of Africa,—they have erected within the last few months some thirty or forty substantial frame houses, generally of materials brought with them from the State of Georgia. From thence I proceeded to the settlement of Cape Palmas, planted by the State of Maryland: at all these communities I enjoyed the privilege of having free intercourse with the varied classes of society. I occupied the pulpits of their churches every Sabbath while I was upon that coast. Sometimes three times each day I addressed the congregations there assembled, and more devout, more decently clad, and more attentive listeners, it was never my privilege to address in any part of the world.

Mr. President, I cannot express upon this occasion all I feel in regard to the claim of these colonists,—of these citizens of our new Republic—upon the charity and support of the American People. I might speak, sir, of their varied interests, I might speak of their increasing commerce, I might speak of their opening and flourishing farms—small, it is true, but indicating a great amount of labor and full of promise in regard to the future crops of some of the most valuable productions of the earth. I might speak also of the certainty (if they possessed increased and adequate means) of their opening and cultivating large plantations of coffee and the sugar cane. Cotton and rice not to be surpassed by any existing upon the banks of the Mississippi.

I am well persuaded that the regions of Saint Paul and Saint John's rivers are not, in the fertility and the resources of the soil, equalled by that of any portion of this

Union that it has been my privilege to observe. Sir, the best thing I saw in the Republic of Liberia and the most valuable thing that presented itself to my observation, was to be found in the men—in the people, in the effect which liberty had upon the spirit and hopes of these colonists. Sir, some of the individuals in that colony, who were now administering the government, are equal, sir, in intellectual power to administer a just and efficient government, to many of these who occupied a similar public position in some of the states of this Union. It is true that they have been educated under peculiar circumstances, but, sir, they have studied books and human things more—they are ready to educate themselves; to devote themselves with full-souled energy to the advancement of the cause entrusted in their hands. Some of the most distinguished men upon that coast have been educated entirely within the limits of that colony. I could name them. I saw one man, who was taken captive, in the war waged by Mr. Ashmun, and was carried when a boy no more than five or six years old into the haunts of a native chief and remained under his protection many months, but in the many native wars had been transferred from the chief, and from the knowledge of the wants of the colony and the habits of the natives he had thus acquired, and his great intellect and ability he was regarded, as in all probability to be placed in future at the head of the Liberian Republic. I could not turn my thoughts towards any individual whose moral worth entitled him to more respect and in whom was happily blended as the object of just respect and attachment.

Mr. President, I shall say a word in regard to some of these individuals who are cultivating the soil of Liberia, on the banks of the Saint John's river. At the little village of Bexley, I saw a man of color from your state, Mr. President—from the state of Kentucky. He had planted what might be called a large plantation, by his own labor, and said he had sold in one year 900 lbs. of coffee. As I was leaving the shore in my boat, and bidding him farewell and those that were assembled near him, I said to him, what shall I say to the people of Kentucky? he said, and they were his last words—"tell them there is a great deal of grubbing to be done here, and we want the strong arm of the Kentucky men to do it." I told him that I would repeat these words. I have repeated them, and trust that the free people of color of Kentucky will follow him to renovate that people, and change this now wilderness into a field of fruitfulness and beauty.



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I said, sir, I had enjoyed the opportunity of standing in the midst of the congregations—speaking to them upon the Sabbath, and meeting them in their week-day assemblies, I was particularly struck at their healthy appearance, which characterized the great mass and body of the community. I saw no signs of decay, no indications of weakness. They were a people full of life, full of activity, and full of hope.

I would remark, Mr. President, that in regard to the interests of that colony, what my friend, who has just taken his seat, has said—and said much better than I could have said it.—In regard to the constitution of that republic, to those sentiments I respond entirely. There was one clause pointed out to me by the President of that republic (Mr. Roberts) as marking it peculiar, and as embodying one of the great principles which gave existence to this Society, and which I trust this Society will ever cherish—it is a clause by which that republic binds itself to apply its resources, when they shall become sufficient, to exert its agency in the instruction and civilization of the native people of Africa. The legislature have directed, or whoever framed that constitution have directed, the chief magistrate of that republic, that whenever the resources shall become sufficient to send forth teachers and employ them in the native schools and villages, to instruct the people in the arts and morality of civilization; in law and government; and to prepare them for their introduction into the blessings of a free and christian state. I know of nothing upon the records of any country equal to this provision, evidently inserted under the influence of the spirit of the Christian Religion. When I stood upon the heights of Monrovia, my memory reverted back to that blessed man of God, Mr. Ashmun, whom I never saw after my first visit until I saw him upon his death-bed—when he was about taking his departure, and they were taking his articles to the canoe to leave that country for the last time, struck down by disease—as they accompanied him in tears to the beach, he said, “If I thought I should not return here again, I would order my things taken from the canoe, and remain with you and die.”

I went next to *Christophelis*, or the city of Christ. I have felt, I confess, that some might regard that name, although somewhat apostolic in an age like this, yet perhaps savoring a little of affectation. It showed the spirit of the man and the object of his exertions—it showed the end for which he lived and for which he died. Sir, that Republic I trust will ever so legislate, that the spirit of

Christ will approve its legislation, that is, it will be as I said in some of the last remarks I made upon a public occasion in that colony—that it will be the morning star of Africa's redemption—I doubt not, sir, it is that at present.

Mr. President, there is another idea to which I beg leave to ask for a moment the ear of this audience.

There has been in this country some idea, I believe it pervades partially the state of Maryland; it may exist in the state of Virginia; it may exist in Kentucky; the idea was that this colonization scheme was to be conducted through the agency of the separate states, and states were to rise upon the African coast corresponding to those of our own confederacy? Sir, there is no provision for this in the constitution of the *Liberian Republic*.

The experience we have had in regard to this separate kind of action upon that shore has thus far been very unfavorable, but I would by no means regret to see a State like Virginia, that noble mother of so many states, making appropriations by which might be realized the growth of a mighty state like herself upon the African coast. I am far from being convinced that this is the best mode of carrying forward the scheme of African colonization. Let that republic be one state; for it is perhaps a matter to be questioned, whether if our own States had not grown up from the colonial condition under the peculiar circumstances which were attendant in our own colonial affairs, it would not have been better for them to have remained one state.

Whether that would have been better or not, I see no reason why we should transfer to the African coast our dangerous and sectional jealousies and interests which arise from the union of so many conflicting and separate states. I am under an impression that the opinions of the people of Liberia are entirely opposed to it. I shall greatly rejoice when the state that is rising under the auspices of the State of Maryland, shall be merged in the Republic of Liberia; it will be greatly to the mutual benefit of the colony and also to the republic. We have begun the renovation of Africa upon the borders and skirts of the forests, which are inhabited by the natives who are in darkness and victims of the most cruel superstition; we have not only begun to rear the temple of civil liberty, but also the temple of pure christianity. I know not how it may strike others, but it struck me deeply when I was there, that possibly after the ages of trial, and the degradation, darkness and ignorance, to which they have been

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subjected in God's Providence, there might be a discipline that would bring them out a purer church, and through the efforts of this Society, the establishment among them of a nobler and purer form of christianity than any existing upon the face of the earth. It was my daily prayer and my constant endeavor while I staid upon that shore, to impress upon the minds of the people of that republic the responsibilities of their position, and the greatness of the work to which Heaven had called them. Sir, I say to you that there is not a community in the world who has such claims upon us as the people of that Republic; I do not believe that the same number of human beings upon the face of the earth are accomplishing as much for the cause of liberty and civilization, and the cause of true religion. Sir, I cannot express what I feel upon this subject; in the enthusiasm of my earliest days I enlisted in the cause of this Society, and when it was nearly overcome by difficulties in passing the warring elements of opinion, and when in adverse circumstances, I saw a clear light shining through all these clouds of adversity. Sir, I see that light still, and believe that now it is guiding Africa to a complete redemption; and, sir, when we consider the condition of the native African population in regard to which I have obtained many very interesting, and to my mind curious and instructive facts; when we consider the cruel and barbarous superstition existing among the natives inhabiting the forests of sassawood lying along the western coast of Africa; and when we consider that before the establishment of this colony thousands and tens of thousands of persons perished under the impressions and effects of superstition; when we know, at this very day, at this very hour, many, many human beings, of every age, are forced in the presence of the community, under the charge of witchcraft—are compelled, I say, to drink narcotic poison, and even put to a cruel death; when we consider this, and if the Republic of Liberia did nothing more than drive from thence this ghost of malignity and evil, it would be entitled to the thanks of the whole world. I hope and trust, Mr. President, that this Society will enlarge its operations. Among the bright pages in your own illustrious life, I am well persuaded, there will be none brighter, and there will be none upon which future ages will behold with more unmingled admiration, than your eloquent defences in the cause of universal liberty, and none more cherished than your early advocacy and your constant attachment and bold and resolute defence of the interests of this So-

ciety; and, sir, has not the time come when the Society will take a wider scope, when it should embrace all schemes of civilization upon the African shore, when it should ask for funds not merely to transport free people of color to that country, but to explore that country, improve its harbors, devise schemes of education, and make the Republic of Liberia what it desires to be—an instrument of deliverance to that quarter of the world.

Sir, I would respectfully suggest this matter to your consideration, and to the consideration of the Society.

I have as ardent a desire as any of you, to contribute as God may give time and opportunity, to advance the interests of that African republic. Sir, I have returned to this country, with the impression increased tenfold of the magnitude, dignity and glory of that scheme to which the Society is pledged. Yes, sir, you may look to that country, when in the drapery of mourning it is covered with sackcloth, and darkened with superstition, into which the Republic of Liberia introduced good laws, a just administration, education and the arts, and the Christian religion. They have introduced it under the present admirable constitution, which is to be the guide of its government, and is destined, in the wisdom and providence of God, to be the deliverer of that whole land from the jaws of death. Mr. President, there are many particulars to which I might refer, and which I have doubtless omitted in this address, which might have been of very great interest to those who give me their attention. I might speak of the families of Monrovia—the people who inhabit that beautiful and interesting town: I might speak of the welcome I received when I visited that country in 1824, and of the kindness manifested towards me upon every occasion. I might speak of the admirable deportment in all classes of the people. I might say—as I did in reply to an inquiry from a clergyman of the Methodist church, if I had seen any profligacy or intemperance, or heard any profanity—I answered that I had seen none. They hold religion to be the guide of whatever is concerned in the business of human life. I might speak of their increasing attention to education. I ask you to look in upon a single school in the town of Monrovia, where there are about sixty children; and I should like to show you the presents made to me as a representative of the friends of the cause—for I beg leave here to state, that I now disavow any vain imagination to think the thing was intended to myself personally. It was intended as an expression of their good feeling to the

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friends of this Society throughout the land. I might bring before this congregation preserved plants, presented to me by the children of that intelligent school. But, sir, I must come to a close: the memories of the dead gather around me. I might ask this congregation to go with me to the graves of the missionaries and the martyrs to this thrice-blessed cause. I wandered one day under a burning sun, to the graveyard of Monrovia, and I gathered some leaves and sticks from the graves of those who had fallen in that land of shadow. Here is a memorial from the grave of Randall, well known in this city for his virtues and energy, and interest in this cause, who fell a martyr on that shore. Here is a memorial from the grave of Buchanan, the friend of my friend. The grave of Buchanan is under a magnificent tree. I found there a piece of an old slave schooner, from which I cut a piece and brought it with me, but I have mislaid it and I have it not here. I also cut a piece from the only stick that marks the grave of Buchanan. I venerate that name not less than that of my friend. I planted an orange tree—one of the dearest trees in Africa—by the grave of Randall. I have also memorials from the graves of the Swiss missionaries. I wish I could have found the graves of those twelve men of England, who, in the war, when Ashmun stood alone and heard the firing of cannon, came and offered their services: Midshipman Gordon and others were shot. I would have given fifty dollars to have found their graves. I told the colonists that they should not let their memory perish from the earth. I told them that they must rear a monument to those brave strangers who threw themselves away for the salvation of the then nearly perishing colony.

There are many more of these memorials—one from the blessed grave of Cox, a Missionary well known to my brethren of the Methodist Church. I must be permitted to say a word in favor of this colony, as it is the home of the Missionary, but I did not mean to occupy so much of the time of this meeting. I will but say a word in relation to the interesting objects to which my attention has been directed. Nothing

has surpassed what I saw in the various Missionary Stations, most of which I was permitted to visit. I entered the schools of the native Africans at Bexley, there I found a native teacher, who was educated in the Colony, and was now laboring to instruct his brethren, of Bexley. I visited many of these stations, and it was gratifying to see respectable libraries for the use of the colored man, among which were the works of Doddrich, of Edwards, of Scott and many other valuable books upon the shelves in many of the houses; in the hamlets and every shade of the African forest have I seen the works of some of the most illustrious Divines, such as Edwards, and Bishops of the Episcopal Church. I have a letter which I received just as I left the coast, from an individual whom I had known. I will read it to show the feeling of some of the intelligent people of that Republic. It is dated Bexley, November 8th.

[Here the Rev. Gentleman read extracts from the letter.]

I prefer that we shall make that country so attractive that they would not stay here with their own consent. I know, sir, that if the people of the United States would lend that republic a helping hand, and if the general government and the states would afford that assistance which they so justly merit, and reach forth to them the aid they so truly deserve, I have no doubt, sir, that the number of emigrants would far exceed all our present hopes, and equal all that is desired for the benefit of our own population with the people of Africa. I hold here, sir, books published by the mission press, in the language of Africa. Here are some in the language of the Bassas: and here are some translations into two of the languages of the people of Cape Palmas—the Grebo, numbering about 30,000, and the Bassas, 50,000.

These are printed in the language of Africa, but it is far more desirable to make our own tongue the language of Africa, and it is destined to be so. I trust the Society will enlarge its influence and will increase its resources vastly, and the government of this country will stretch out its strong arm, and give an impulse to that Republic which it so justly merits at our hands.

# APPENDIX.

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## A Proclamation, by the President of the Republic of Liberia.

WHEREAS, a treaty of friendship and commerce between the Republic of Liberia and Her Britannic Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, was concluded and signed by their plenipotentiaries at London on the 21st day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight, which treaty being word for word as follows :

Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, and the Republic of Liberia, being desirous to conclude a treaty of peace and friendship, and to regulate thereby the commercial intercourse between the dominions and subjects of Her Majesty, and the territories and citizens of the Republic ; Her Majesty has for this purpose named as Her Plenipotentiaries, that is to say :—

The Right honorable Henry John Viscount Palmerston, Baron Temple, a Peer of Ireland, a member of Her Britannic Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, a Member of Parliament, Knight Grand Cross of the Most Honorable Order of the Bath, and Her Britannic Majesty's Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, and the Right Honorable Henry Labouchere, a Member of Her Majesty's Most Honorable Privy Council, a Member of Parliament, and President of the Committee of Privy Council for Af-

fairs of Trade and Foreign Plantations.

And the Republic of Liberia, having, by resolutions of the Legislature, bearing date the 4th of February, 1848, authorized and empowered Joseph Jenkins Roberts, the President of the Republic, to conclude such Treaty on behalf of the Republic.

The Plenipotentiaries of Her Majesty, and the said President of the Republic, after having communicated to each other their respective powers, have agreed upon and concluded the following articles :

### ARTICLE I.

There shall be perpetual peace and friendship between Her Majesty the Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, Her heirs and successors, and the Republic of Liberia, and between their respective subjects and citizens.

### ARTICLE II.

There shall be reciprocal freedom of commerce between the British dominions and the Republic of Liberia. The subjects of Her Britannic Majesty may reside in, and trade to, any part of the territories of the Republic to which any other foreigners are or shall be admitted. They shall enjoy full protection for their persons and properties ; they shall be allowed to buy from and to sell to whom they like, without being restrained or prejudiced by any mo-

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monopoly, contract, or exclusive privilege of sale or purchase whatever; and they shall moreover enjoy all other rights and privileges which are or may be granted to any other foreigners, subjects or citizens, of the most favored nation. The citizens of the Republic of Liberia shall, in return, enjoy similar protection and privileges in the dominions of Her Britannic Majesty.

ARTICLE III.

No tonnage, import, or other duties or charges, shall be levied in the Republic of Liberia on British vessels, or on goods imported or exported in British vessels, beyond what are or may be levied on national vessels, or on the like goods imported or exported in national vessels; and in like manner, no tonnage, import, or other duties or charges, shall be levied in the British dominions on vessels of the Republic, or on goods imported or exported in those vessels, beyond what are or may be levied on national vessels, or on the like goods imported or exported in national vessels.

ARTICLE IV.

Merchandise or goods coming from the British dominions in any vessel, or imported in British vessels from any country, shall not be prohibited by the Republic of Liberia, nor be subject to higher duties than are levied on the same kinds of merchandise or goods coming from any other foreign country, or imported in any other vessels.

All articles the produce of the Republic may be exported therefrom by British subjects and British vessels, on as favorable terms as by the subjects and vessels of any other foreign country.

ARTICLE V.

It being the intention of the Government of the Republic of Liberia to trade in certain articles of import,

with a view to raising a revenue by selling them at a fixed advance upon the cost price, it is hereby agreed that in no case shall private merchants be absolutely prohibited from importing any of such articles, or any article in which the Government of the Republic may at any time see fit to trade; nor shall such articles, or any article in which the Government of the Republic may at any time see fit to trade, be subject to a duty of a greater amount than the amount of the advance upon the cost price at which the Government may from time to time be bound to sell the same.

In case the Government of the Republic shall at any time fix the price of any article of native produce, with a view to such article being taken in payment for any articles in which the Government may trade, such article of native produce shall be received into the treasury at the same fixed price, in payment of taxes, from all persons trading with the Republic.

ARTICLE VI.

The protection of the Government of the Republic shall be afforded to all British vessels, their officers and crews. If any such vessels should be wrecked on the coast of the Republic, the local authorities shall succour them, and shall secure them from plunder, and shall cause all articles saved from the wreck to be restored to their lawful owners. The amount of salvage dues in such cases shall be regulated, in the event of dispute, by arbitrators chosen by both parties.

ARTICLE VII.

It being the intention of the two Contracting Parties to bind themselves by the present Treaty to treat each other on the footing of the most favored nation, it is hereby agreed between them, that any fa-

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vor, privilege, or immunity whatever, in matters of commerce and navigation, which either Contracting Party has actually granted, or may hereafter grant, to the subjects or citizens of any other State, shall be extended to the subjects or citizens of the other Contracting Party, gratuitously, if the concession in favor of that other State shall have been gratuitous, or in return for a compensation as nearly as possible of proportionate value and effect, to be adjusted by mutual agreement, if the concession shall have been conditional.

ARTICLE VIII.

Each Contracting Party may appoint Consuls for the protection of trade, to reside in the dominions of the other; but no such Consul shall enter upon the exercise of his functions until he shall have been approved and admitted, in the usual form, by the Government of the country to which he is sent.

ARTICLE IX.

Slavery and the Slave Trade being perpetually abolished in the Republic of Liberia, the Republic engages that a law shall be passed, declaring it to be piracy for any Liberian citizen or vessel to be engaged or concerned in the Slave Trade.

The Republic engages to permit any British vessel of war which may be furnished with special instructions under the treaties between Great Britain and Foreign Powers for the prevention of the Slave Trade, to visit any vessels sailing under the Liberia flag, which may, on reasonable grounds, be suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade; and if, by the result of the visit, it should appear to the officer in command of such British vessel of war that the suspicions which led thereto are well grounded the vessel shall be sent without delay to a Liberian port, and

shall be delivered up to the Liberian authorities to be proceeded against according to the laws of the Republic.

ARTICLE X.

The Republic of Liberia further engages to permit any British vessel of war which may be furnished with special instructions as aforesaid, to visit, on the coast within the jurisdiction of the Republic, or in the ports of the same, any vessel which may be suspected of being engaged in the Slave Trade, and which shall be found sailing under any flag whatever, or without any flag; and if the suspicions which led to the visit should appear to the officer in command of such British vessel of war to be well grounded, to detain such vessel, in order to send it as soon as possible before the competent court for adjudication.

Duly constituted ports of entry in the Republic of Liberia shall be excepted from the operation of the stipulations of the present article; and no vessel shall be visited by a British cruiser within the limits of such ports, except on permission specially granted by the local authorities.

ARTICLE XI.

The present treaty shall be ratified, and the ratifications shall be exchanged at London within the space of twelve months from the date hereof.

In witness whereof the Plenipotentiaries of Her Britannic Majesty, and the President of the Republic of Liberia, have signed the same, and have affixed thereto their respective seals.

Done at London, the twenty-first day of November, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and forty-eight.

[L. S.]	PALMERSTON.
[L. S.]	H. LABOUCHERE.
[L. S.]	J. J. ROBERTS.

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 Abolition of the Slave Trade of Gallinas.
 

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And whereas the said treaty has been duly ratified on both parts and the respective ratifications of the same were exchanged at London on the 1st day of August, 1849, by Thos. Hodgkin, agent for this Republic, and the Right Honorable Viscount Palmerston, &c. &c. &c.

Now therefore be it known, that I. Joseph J. Roberts, President of the Republic of Liberia, have caused the said treaty to be made public, to the end that the same and every clause and article thereof, may be

observed and fulfilled with good faith by the Republic and the citizens thereof.

In witness whereof, I hereunto set my hand and caused the seal of the Republic to be affixed. Done at the Town of Monrovia, this 25th day of September, A. D. 1849, and of the Independence of the Republic the Third.

By the President,

J. J. ROBERTS.

J. N. LEWIS,

*Secretary of State, ad interim.*

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 Abolition of the Slave Trade of Gallinas;

BY JAMES HALL, M. D.

THE advices from Africa, published in our last number, contain the gratifying and important intelligence, that, the long blockade of Gallinas by the British cruisers, has induced the slavers at that place to break up their barracoons, deliver up their slaves to the commodore and to take passage for themselves and effects on board Her Majesty's vessels for Sierra Leone. This is the initiative step to the entire abolition of that traffic on the windward coast; the next, and not less important, is, the purchase of the territory by the Government of Liberia. That the slaves are given up, the barracoons destroyed, the slavers themselves removed and every vestige of this accursed traffic obliterated, avails nothing, unless proper and sure measures are taken to prevent a re-establishment of the business, the moment the coast guard is abandoned; and we doubt not, from the tenor of the advices above referred to, that ere this, either by purchase or conquest, Gallinas and its dependencies are a part and parcel of the commonwealth of Liberia—this measure, only, will ensure it against a re-en-

actment of the scenes of distress and horror which have heretofore rendered that place so infamous.

To enable those, not familiar with the slave marts on the West coast of Africa, to estimate the importance of the annexation of Gallinas to Liberia, it is necessary to give a brief sketch of their location and extent and of the late history of Gallinas. Previous to the founding of the colonies of Liberia, the slave trade was rife throughout the whole of what is termed the Grain Coast; in fact, from the Gambia to Cape Palmas, an extent of over 1,500 miles of coast line, excepting only, Sierra Leone and its immediate dependencies. The very heart of this extensive slave mart was Gallinas, to which only, Cape Messurado was second in importance. That the small band of colonists, which boldly located themselves on this beautiful headland in 1821, should have been able to maintain their position amidst the powerful combined influence and action of slavers' gold and savage natives will ever remain a marvel in the history of that Colony. But they did maintain, not only their

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existence but their integrity and fair fame, and although it required many years in its accomplishment and all of blood and treasure which they had to give, the Liberians succeeded effectually in eradicating this traffic from the limits of their territory. After the firm establishment of the colony, the slave trade on the windward coast, or to the North and West of Cape Palmas, was mainly confined to some Portuguese settlements at Bissaos, the Rio Grande, the Nuez and Pongos, Gallinas and its vicinity, Grand and Little Bassa, New Cesters and Trade Town. The Bissaos and the river factories to the windward of Sierra Leone were never very prosperous, the slavers finding it extremely difficult to escape from them without being intercepted by the British cruisers. The small factories at the Bassas were much interrupted by the colonies and finally extirpated by the purchase of Grand Bassa in 1832; while those at New Cesters and Trade Town were more or less connected with and dependent upon those at Gallinas.

The Gallinas river enters the Atlantic in latitude about  $7\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$ , between Grand Cape Mount and Cape St. Ann, near one hundred miles northwest of Cape Messurado or Monrovia. The name of the river is given to the cluster of slave factories near its mouth. This place possesses no peculiar advantages for any species of commerce, and derives its importance, exclusively, from the establishment of the slave factories there. The land in the vicinity is very low and marshy, the river winds sluggishly through an alluvion of Mangrove marsh, forming innumerable small islands. The bar at its mouth is one of the most dangerous on the coast, being impassable at times in the rainy season.

It is located in what is termed the Vey Country, the people of which, are distinguished for their cleanliness, intelligence, and enterprize in trade. How long Gallinas has maintained its importance as a slave mart, we are unable to say, but at the time of our first visit to Liberia in 1831, its reputation was very extended and its influences most deeply felt in the colony. It was estimated that near 10,000 slaves were, about that period, annually shipped from this place alone. The business was done, mainly, through the agency of several merchants or factors established there, the principal of which, was Pedro Blanco, a Spaniard. This man's influence was unbounded among the native tribes on that section of the coast, and we fear, at one time, extended to members of the colony of considerable respectability. He was a man of education, having the bearing and address of a Spanish Grandee or Don, which was his usual appellation. He lived in a semi-barbarous manner, at once, as a private gentleman and an African prince. He had at one time a sister residing with him. He maintained several establishments, one, on an island near the river's mouth, which was his place of business or of trade with foreign vessels, that came to Gallinas to dispose of merchandise; on another island, more remote was his dwelling-house, where he kept his private office, his books, dined, took his siesta, slept, &c.; here, we believe, his sister also resided. On a third, was his seraglio of native wives, each in their several dwellings, after the manner of native chiefs. Independent of all these were his barracoons of slaves, of greater or less extent, as circumstances required. It may readily be supposed that with the wealth accruing from a long and successful



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prosecution of the slave trade, his power among the natives was equal to that of any despot; and the following incident related to us by one of his partners proves that he occasionally exercised it. Having occasion one day to travel on the sea beach some distance from Gallinas, near the island of Sherbro, where he was unknown, he approached the hut of a native with a view of taking rest and refreshment. He asked the owner of the house, who was squatted in the door, to hand him fire to light his cigar. The man bluntly refused, upon which, Blanco drew back, took a carbine from one of his attendants and shot him dead upon the spot. The narrator of the story apologised for Blanco by saying, that, to deny a Spaniard fire, for lighting his cigar or pipe is the grossest insult that can be offered him.

We have ever understood, that Blanco was one of the kindest masters to his slaves, taking every care of their health and comfort, never suffering any improper intimacy between his numerous agents and the females, and permitting no flogging or harsh treatment.

We first visited Gallinas in 1837, at a time when the trade at this place was on the decline and Blanco was about leaving the coast. The first peculiarity we noticed in entering the river, was, the arrangements of watch-boxes, or look-outs, consisting of seats protected from the sun and rain, erected some fifty or one hundred feet from the ground, either on poles fixed in the earth, or on some insulated, high tree, from one of which the horizon was constantly swept by a good telescope, to give prompt notice of the approach of any vessel, and long experience rendered these men very expert in determining the character of any visitor, whether neutral, friend or foe.

About a mile from the river's mouth

we found ourselves among a cluster of islands, on each of which was located the factory of some particular slave merchant. The buildings, generally, consisted of a business room, with warehouse attached, filled with merchandize and provisions, and a barracoon for the slaves; the whole built by setting rough stakes or small trees into the ground, these being wattled together with withes and covered with thatch. That, containing the slaves, being much the strongest and generally surrounded by, or connected with, a yard, in which the slaves were permitted to exercise daily. We think there were some ten or twelve of these establishments at that time, each containing from 100 to 500 slaves. We believe one contained near 1,000, which, it was expected, would be shipped daily. Each barracoon was in charge of from two to four white men, Spanish or Portuguese, and a more pitiable looking set of men we never met with. They had all suffered more or less from the fever, were very weak, much emaciated or swollen by dropsy or diseased spleens, and none of them particularly clean. The slaves were as well taken care of as could be expected, when provisions were plenty in the country; but, in case of scarcity, they suffered severely. Many instances have occurred wherein whole barracoons of slaves have been let loose for want of food; and it may well be supposed their owners would allow them to suffer severely before giving them up. For this reason, and because they can be stowed more closely in a vessel, children are generally preferred to adults. We recollect going into one yard where there were some 300 boys, all apparently between ten and fifteen years of age, linked together in squads of twenty or thirty. We never saw a more painfully interesting sight than the long rows of these

bright-eyed little fellows, doomed to the horrors of a middle latitude passage, probably in a three and a half feet between decks. Another peculiar feature of the place was, the collection of long canoes and boats, all kept ready for the dispatch of slaves the moment an opportunity should occur. Probably 1,000 slaves could be shipped in four hours, all things favorable. In case the coast is clear of armed vessels, and a slaver appears in the offing, her signal is at once recognized. She is signalled in return, to come in, and if she is watered and provisioned for the voyage, and deck laid, which is usually the case, she does not even come to anchor, but stands close in to the bar, where she is met by the whole fleet of canoes and boats, the contents of which are speedily put on board; she then stands off or up the coast again, the canoes return to the barracoon for more slaves, again to meet outside the bar as before. Sometimes, however, they are not so fortunate, even when not molested by a man-of-war. The bar at the river mouth is not unfrequently dangerous, even in the dry season, and in the anxiety to ship the slaves they run great hazards, and many a boat load of poor wretches becomes food for sharks, who always follow such boats and canoes in great numbers. We have heard from Kroomen, who perform the boat-work at Gallinas, many harrowing tales of shipping slaves from that place, too painful to report, or even to recall to memory. In fact, all connected with this trade is painful and distressing to humanity, and this Gallinas, of all other places on the coast of Africa, with which we have been acquainted, has been the scene of its greatest horrors. What imagination can conceive the thousandth part of the misery that has been endured by human beings on this little cluster of

bushy islands? Of the five or ten thousand, who are annually brought to this place; each and every one has to mourn a home made desolate, a family dismembered, the blood of kindred flowing. Of this number, how many sink in these wretched barracoons from distress of mind at their wretched condition, from disease and famine; how many are sacrificed in their hurried shipment by the ravenous sharks; how many sink under the most protracted agonies in that confinement between decks, the air of which is putridity itself; and, of the miserable survivors, the attenuated, excoriated wretches, who are still destined for the shambles, how few but would exclaim, "Thrice and four times happy are those who sink under the knife of the midnight assassin, or were consumed in the conflagration of their palm-covered cottages?"

But Gallinas is destroyed; as a slave mart it has ceased to exist; from its marshy islets the fiat shall no more go forth to spread fire and sword throughout a peaceful land; the marauding chief has bound his last victim; the haggard, Lazarone slaver has riveted his last fetter; the shark at the bar mouth has fed on his last slave gang; and this land, heretofore detested and detestable, is henceforth to form a part of the free and independent Republic of Liberia. In the fall of Gallinas and the annexation of its territory to the Liberian Republic, we see the absolute extinction of the slave trade from Sierra Leone to the Cape Palmas. That the Liberian Government is competent to prevent its re-establishment, now, in the day of her strength and independence, fostered by powerful nations, we have a sufficient guaranty, by what she has done at Messurado, Bassa and Trade Town in time of her infancy and weakness.—*Md. Col. Journal.*

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 An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.
 

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## A respectful Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia;

BY REV. P. SLAUGHTER, AGENT VA. COL. SOC.

THE Governor of the Commonwealth having in his late message recommended the American Colonization Society to the particular attention of the Legislature, and the subject having been referred to a select committee, whose report is daily anticipated, it seems a fitting time to remind the Legislators and citizens of Virginia of some facts touching the origin and history of an institution which is attracting the regards and challenging the admiration of the civilized world. It must endear this institution to Virginians and strengthen their confidence in its wisdom, to be reminded that it comes commended to the present generation by the authority of our own most patriotic and sagacious statesmen, and the deliberate successive acts of our own Legislature.

"It claims for its authors, Thos. Jefferson, author of the Declaration of Independence, Edmund Pendleton and George Wythe—high in the first rank of their country's orators and jurists—the Mansfield and the Hale of Virginia—George Mason, perhaps the wisest statesman to whom Virginia has given birth—and Thomas Ludwell Lee, who was deemed by the Legislature of 1776 their fit associate." These gentlemen were appointed by the first Le-

gislature after the Declaration of Independence, to revise the laws of this State. This committee proposed a comprehensive plan of colonization, according to which all colored persons born after a certain time were to be emancipated and instructed in tillage and other arts, until the males were twenty-one, and the females eighteen years of age, and then colonized in such place as the circumstances of the time should render proper; furnishing them with arms, implements of household arts, seeds, and pairs of the useful domestic animals, &c.—declaring them a free and independent people, and extending to them our alliance and protection. The report of the revisors was not acted upon until 1785, when Mr. Jefferson was in France, and Pendleton and Wythe upon the bench. The emancipation feature in this plan was probably the reason of its failure. The seed of the Colonization Society had nevertheless been sown, which springing up after the lapse of a few years, and pruned of its excrescences, began to grow and bear fruit. Its first fruit was the plan of Dr. Thornton, (a Virginian,) in 1787, to colonize the *free* colored people upon *the coast of Africa*.—This being the suggestion of a private individual had no visible results. A few years afterward, the Colony

of Sierra Leone, consisting of slaves who had taken refuge in the British army during the Revolutionary war, was established.

On the 31st Dec. 1800, the house of Delegates of Virginia, passed almost unanimously the following resolution :

*“Resolved, that the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, on the subject of purchasing lands without the limits of this state, whither persons obnoxious to the laws or dangerous to the peace of society may be removed.”*

In compliance with this resolution Mr. Monroe addressed a letter to Mr. Jefferson, dated Richmond 15th June, 1801, in which he informs the President that this resolution was produced by the conspiracy of the slaves which took place in and near the city of Richmond the preceding year, and was intended to provide an alternate mode of punishment for those described by the resolution. It being deemed more humane and not less expedient to transport such offenders beyond the limits of the state.” Mr. Monroe proceeds to remark that the latter part of the resolution which proposes the removal of such persons as are dangerous to the peace of society, may be considered as comprising many to whom the preceding member does not apply. “If the more enlarged construction of the resolution be deemed the true one, he adds, it furnishes in my opinion, a reason why the Legislature in disposing of this great question should command an alternative of

places. As soon as the mind emerges in contemplating the subject beyond the contracted scale of providing a place of punishment for offenders, new and interesting objects present themselves to view. It is impossible not to involve in it the condition of these people, the embarrassment they have already occasioned us, and are still likely to subject us to. We perceive an existing evil which commenced under our colonial system with which we are not properly chargeable, and we acknowledge the extreme difficulty of remedying it. At this point the mind rests with suspense, and surveys with anxiety obstacles which become more serious as we approach them. To lead to a sound decision and make the result a happy one, it is necessary that the field of practicable expedients be opened on the widest possible scale; under this view of the subject I shall beg leave to be advised whether a tract of land in the western territory of the United States can be procured for this purpose, in what quarter and on what terms? You perceive that I invite your attention to a subject of great importance, one which in a peculiar degree involves the future peace, tranquillity and happiness of the good people of this commonwealth.”

On the eighth of November, 1801, Mr. Jefferson replied in a long letter, in the course of which he says, common malefactors, I presume

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make no part of the object of that resolution. Neither their numbers nor the nature of their offences seem to require any provision beyond those heretofore found adequate to the repression of ordinary crimes. Conspiracy, insurgency, &c. among that description of persons who brought on us the alarm, and on themselves the tragedy of 1800, were doubtless in the view of every one, but many perhaps contemplated a much larger scope. Respect to both opinions make it my duty to understand the resolution in all the extents of which it is susceptible. He then goes on to discuss the practicability and expediency of procuring territory on our western or southern frontier, and concludes with asking would we be willing to have such a colony in contact with us? It is impossible he adds not to look forward to distant times when our rapid multiplication will expand beyond those limits, and cover the whole northern if not the southern continent with a people speaking the same language and governed with the same laws. Nor can we contemplate with satisfaction either blot or mixture on that surface.

He then gives the preference to the West Indies, and among these Islands to St. Domingo in consideration of their being already inhabited by a people of their own race and color, and having a climate congenial with their constitution, and being insulated from other descriptions of

men. Africa he concludes would offer a last and undoubted resort if all others more desirable should fail us.

On the 21st Dec. 1801, Mr. Monroe communicated this letter of Mr. Jefferson with a message asking for a more full description of persons who are to be transported, and the place to which it is disposed to give the preference. On the 16th June 1802, the House of Delegates of Va. responded in the following resolutions, which were agreed to by the Senate on the 23d.

“The Legislature of the Commonwealth by their resolution of Dec. last having authorized the Governor to correspond with the President of the United States relative to the purchase of lands without the limits of this State, to which persons obnoxious to the laws and dangerous to the peace of society might be removed, from which general expressions a difference of construction has prevailed, to reconcile which recourse must be had to the actual state of things which produced the resolution.”

*Therefore Resolved*, That as the resolution was not intended to embrace offenders for ordinary crimes to which the laws have been found equal, but only those for conspiracy, insurgency, &c., among that class of people who produced the alarm in this State in the fall of 1800, the Governor be requested in carrying the resolution into effect, upon the construction here given, to request the President of the United States in procuring the lands to prefer the continent of Africa, or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America.

*Resolved*, That the Governor be requested to correspond with the President of the United States for the purpose of obtaining a place without the limits of the same, to

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which free negroes or mulattoes and such negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated, may be sent or chose to remove as a place of asylum, and that it is not the wish of the Legislature to obtain the sovereignty of such place.

In Dec. 1804, Mr. Jefferson addressed a letter to Governor Page of Virginia, in which he says, the island of St. Domingo, our nearest and most convenient resource, is too unsettled to be looked to for any permanent arrangements. He then suggests whether the inhabitants of our late purchase, beyond the Mississippi, and the national Legislature would consent that a portion of that country should be set apart for the persons contemplated. And not yet seeming to despair of Africa, he adds, my last information as to *Sierra Leone* is that the company was proposing to deliver up their colony to the Government. Should this take place it might furnish an opportunity for an incorporation of ours into it. This led to the following resolution of the House of Delegates on the 3d of Dec. 1804.

*Resolved*, That the Senators of this State, in the Congress of the United States, be instructed and the Representatives be requested to exert their best efforts for the purpose of obtaining from the General Government a competent portion of territory in the country of Louisiana, to be appropriated to the residence of such people of color as have been or may be emancipated in Virginia, or may hereafter become dangerous to the public safety. *Provided*, that no contract or arrangement respecting such territory shall be obligatory on this Commonwealth until ratified by the Legislature.

This resolution was sent by Governor Page to the Representatives of Virginia.

Our difficulties with France and

England now supervened and arrested at this point these interesting proceedings. But there was at least one eminent politician whose mind was not diverted from the contemplation of this subject by the approaching war with England. In Jan. 1811, Mr. Jefferson said, "I have long ago made up my mind upon this subject, and have no hesitation in saying I have ever thought it the most desirable measure for gradually drawing off this part of our population. Going from a country possessing all the useful arts they might be the means of transporting them among the inhabitants of Africa, and would thus carry back to the country of their origin the seed of civilization which might render their sojourning here a blessing in the end to that country. Nothing is more to be wished than the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa. Exclusive of motives of humanity, the commercial advantages to be derived from it might defray all its expenses. It may be doubted whether many of these people would be willing to go, but *that should not discourage the experiment.*" A treaty of peace having been concluded with Great Britain in 1815, the public mind reverted with increased interest to the scheme of colonization.

In December, 1816, with only seven dissenting voices in the House of Delegates, and one in the Senate,

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the following resolutions moved by Mr. Mercer, passed the Legislature of Virginia.

Whereas, the General Assembly of Virginia, have repeatedly sought to obtain an Asylum beyond the limits of the United States, for such persons of color as have been, or may be emancipated under the laws of this commonwealth, but have hitherto found all their efforts frustrated, either by the disturbed state of other nations, or domestic causes equally unpropitious to its success. They now avail themselves of a period when peace has healed the wounds of humanity, and the principal nations of Europe have agreed with the government of the United States, in abolishing the African slave trade, (a traffic which this Commonwealth both before and after the Revolution, zealously sought to extirpate,) to renew this effort : therefore,

*Resolved*, That the Executive be requested to correspond with the President of the United States, for the purpose of obtaining a territory on the coast of Africa, or at some other place not within any of the States or territorial governments of the United States, to serve for an asylum of such persons of color as are now free, and desire the same, and for those who may be hereafter emancipated within this Commonwealth, and that the Senate and Representatives of this state and the Congress of the United States, be requested to exert their best efforts to aid in the attainment of the above object.

In the meantime Dr. Finley, Bishop Meade, Frank Key, &c., had been anxiously pondering the subject of African Colonization. These with other persons of like minds, assembled in the city of Washington on the 21st of December of the same year, and recommended the formation of the American Colonization Society.

Mr. Clay was chairman of the meeting, and stirring addresses were made by him, and by Messrs Caldwell, and Randolph of Roanoke. A committee was appointed to present a memorial to Congress asking

their co-operation ; John Randolph was on that committee. The Society held its first meeting on the 17th of January, 1817, and elected its officers. Hon. Bushrod Washington, was made President, and among the 13 Vice Presidents were Clay, Crawford, Jackson, and John Taylor, of Virginia. The committee of the Society prepared a memorial to Congress, which was referred to a committee of the House of Representatives, who made an able report concluding with resolutions recommending negotiations with the great states of Europe, for the abolition of the slave trade, and an application to Great Britain to receive into the colony of Sierra Leone such of the free people of color of the United States, as should be carried thither. And should this proposition not be accepted, then to obtain from Great Britain a stipulation, guaranteeing a permanent neutrality to any colony established under the auspices of the United States upon the coast of Africa.

On the 3d of March, 1819, Congress passed an act authorising the President of the United States to make such arrangements as he might deem expedient for the safe keeping and removal out of the United States of such persons of color as might be brought into any of the States under the act abolishing the slave trade, and to appoint agents upon the coast of Africa, for receiving such persons. Agents were accord-

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An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.

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ingly appointed by the government, who acting in co-operation with the agents of the society, purchased territory and established the colony. This purchase was made in 1822, by an agent of the Society, and Capt. Stockton of the navy, on the part of the government of the United States. From that moment, the course of the colony has been steadily onward, "through evil and through good report," until it has taken its place among the independent nations of the earth, under the denomination of the "Republic of Liberia." To return from this digression, to Virginia. An auxiliary society was formed in Richmond in November, 1823, at the head of which was placed the Hon. John Marshall, (*clarum et venerabile nomen*) who continued to preside over its deliberations, and to guide it by his wise counsels, to the day of his lamented death. He was succeeded by the Hon. John Tyler, late President of the United States. The Richmond Society by its able reports, its energetic agencies, and its stirring appeals, was instrumental in diffusing information and procuring contributions, which rendered very valuable aid in a time of need, to the Parent Society at Washington. It also obtained from the Legislature in 1825 and 1828, donations in clothing and implements of agriculture, which supplied very opportunely pressing wants of the infant colony in Africa. The

Colonization Society at this period, had a task of great delicacy to perform. The questions growing out of the admission of Missouri into the Union, had fearfully agitated the whole country, and threatened to overwhelm this benevolent enterprise in ruin, but by following the chart of her original principles with the strictest fidelity, and steering between the rock of indifferentism on the one hand, and the whirlpool of abolitionism on the other, she was enabled with the blessing of heaven to weather the storm. At this critical juncture were heard above the roaring of the tempest of fanaticism, the voices of her gallant commanders, Madison and Marshall,\* cheering her onward in her noble mission.

Mr. Madison in a letter dated Jan. 16, 1832, said, "the Society had always my best wishes, although with hopes of success less sanguine than those entertained by others found to be better judges, and I feel the greatest pleasure at the progress already made by the Society, and the encouragement to encounter remaining difficulties, afforded by the greater and earlier difficulties already overcome. I cherish the hope that the time will come when the dreadful calamity which has so long afflicted our country, and filled so many with despair, will be gradually removed, and by means consistent with justice, peace, and the

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\* The one President of the American—the other President of the Virginia Society.



## An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.

general satisfaction; thus giving to our country the full enjoyment of the blessings of liberty, and to the world the full benefit of its great example."

Judge Marshall in the same year, said, "the removal of our colored population is a common object by no means conferred to the slave states, although they are more immediately interested in it. The whole Union, he adds, would be strengthened by it, and relieved from a danger whose extent can be scarcely estimated." Here we have the authority of the "father of the constitution" and its greatest expounder, both of whom thought the object contemplated by the Colonization Society, so important that it demanded the interposition of the general government, and both regarded the public lands as a proper resource for effecting it.

In the mean time the tragedy of Southampton had occurred, and rung an alarm through the Commonwealth, which convinced the Legislature, that in the language of Gen. Brodnax "something must be done." Accordingly that gentleman in the session of 1832 and 33, reported a bill devising ways and means for deporting free negroes and such as may become free in Virginia to Liberia. The bill proposed an appropriation of \$35,000 for the present year and \$90,000 for the next, to be applied to this purpose. It passed the House of Delegates, but was lost

in the Senate. Notwithstanding this discouragement, the subject was again moved, and on the 4th of March, 1833, an act passed the Legislature appropriating \$18,000, and constituting the Governor, Lieut. Governor, and 1st and 2d Auditors, a board of commissioners, for carrying its provisions into effect. The act was as follows;

"Whenever satisfactory proof shall be produced to said commissioners that any number of free persons of color shall have been actually transported to Liberia, or other place on the western coast of Africa, or that they shall have been embarked for transportation thither from within the limits of this Commonwealth by the American Colonization Society, it shall be lawful and the said board of commissioners are hereby required to issue their warrant upon the treasury of this commonwealth, for such sum or sums of money as may be necessary to defray the costs of transporting and subsisting such free persons of color for a limited time, on the said coast of Africa, payable to the authorized and accredited agent of the American Colonization Society. *Provided*, that the sum or sums thus expended shall in no one year exceed the amount hereby appropriated for such year, and that the free persons of color who may be removed under the provisions of this act, shall be selected from the different counties and corporations of this Commonwealth, in proportion to the amount of revenue paid into the public treasury by such county or corporation, if such persons can be found in such county willing to emigrate; but if the whole sum of money hereby appropriated to each county or corporation, shall not annually be applied to the removal of such free persons of color therein because of their unwillingness to emigrate therefrom, then the balance thereof may be equitably applied to the removal of free persons from other counties and corporations. And provided that no more than the sum of \$30 shall be allowed for the transportation and subsistence of any free persons of color over ten years of age, and not more than \$20 for any under that age. *Provided*, that no payment shall be made by the same Board under the provision of this act, for the transportation of any other than persons now free, and born and residing within this Commonwealth or their descendants."

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An Address to the Legislators and People of Virginia.

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This act as was predicted at the time was rendered utterly inefficient by the restrictions with which it was encumbered. The appropriations having been distributed into as many parts as there were counties in the Commonwealth, and having been limited to those persons freed before a certain time, and the commissioners appointed to carry the provisions of the act into effect, feeling themselves bound by it to require the Society to prove the identity, age and residence of each applicant, as well as the time at which they were emancipated, by the certificates of the clerks of the counties in which such persons resided, and also to prove their transportation or embarkation by divers formalities, it was thought better to surrender the benefit of the act than to incur the expense of time and money necessary to comply with its hard conditions. Accordingly, the Society actually colonized in the year 1836, at their own expense, emigrants who came within the provisions of the act.

In 1837, the Board of Managers of the Virginia Society, seconded by petitions from several auxiliary societies, presented a memorial to the Legislature asking for an act of incorporation, and an amendment of the act of 1833, so as to make its provisions available, and on the 13th of February of the same year, the report of the select committee declaring these petitions reasonable

was agreed to by the House of Delegates, and a bill ordered. For want of time or some other cause not known, this bill did not become a law. And now in 1850, Mr. Dorman has reported a bill to the same end founded upon the recommendation in the message of Governor Floyd. Such is believed to be a just account of the history of the idea of colonizing our people of color from its first conception, until its full development in the American Colonization Society. It is not within the scope of this address to write the history of that society—its unparalleled success is not now questioned by any unprejudiced man. Mr. Gurley who was commissioned by the general government to visit Liberia and investigate its condition, is just returned and is now preparing an elaborate report illustrating the commercial and other interests of that young Republic, his testimony to its present prosperity and the greatness of its future prospects is most decisive and encouraging. Neither is it a part of my plan to cite the authority or acts of the several state Legislatures, fourteen of which have given the society their approbation, and one, Maryland, has made it a part of her permanent policy by establishing and cherishing with annual appropriations the colony of Maryland in Liberia. Nor will I now insist upon the benefits, social, political and moral that are conferred by this so-

## Letter from President Roberts.

ciety upon the white race in America, and upon the black race upon both continents. Let it suffice to say that we have in our midst in the persons of our free colored people *an evil of enormous magnitude*. That this evil has increased, is increasing and ought to be diminished every body admits. Benevolent individuals and societies are laboring with all their might to eradicate it. They have done much. When *there were only 2000 colonists, in Liberia, 1100 of them were from Virginia*, and complaints were made that the Virginians monopolized the public offices. During the present month, sixty colored people from Virginia will sail from Norfolk. Under these circumstances can there be a question whether the subject is worthy the interposition of the Legislature. If this is clear, is not delay dangerous? When Mr. Jefferson proposed his plan of colonization, there were only about 10,000 free negroes in Virginia—now the number is estimated at 60,000, and is increasing, not only in the natural way but by operation of the law conferring upon the County Courts the

power of allowing emancipated slaves to remain in the State during the good pleasure of the Court. A majority of the magistrates being required to constitute a court under this law, as a matter of fact, the Court seldom meets, and the applicant is advised by his counsel that nothing will be done with him while his application is pending, and thus great numbers of these people remain in the Commonwealth contrary to the obvious intent of the law.

A great change is coming every day over the dreams of the colored people upon this subject. The establishment of the Republic of Liberia, and its recognition by the great powers of Europe, has attracted their attention, and excited a spirit of inquiry which will undoubtedly lead to a large emigration. The time for giving the cause a vigorous impulse is propitious. Will the generous and sagacious Legislators of the Old Dominion, turn a deaf ear to thousands of their fellow citizens of all religious creeds, and political parties, who having put their own shoulders to the wheel, with one voice call upon Hercules for help.

## Letter from President Roberts.

GOVERNMENT HOUSE,  
Monrovia, Oct. 31st, 1849.

DEAR SIR:—Your two favors of the 31st July, by the "Liberia Packet," are received, and their contents respectively noted. I forwarded to your address, a few weeks ago, a copy of our commercial treaty with England. I have the satisfaction to inform you that the ratifications

were exchanged at London on the first of August last, and the British ratified copy was received here on the 15th ultimo—which you will find published in the September number of the Liberia Herald.

I regret to have to inform you that we have not yet succeeded in securing the territory of Gallinas. Our negotiations, at present, are at a stand

## Letter from President Roberts.

still for the want of funds. Mr. Teage's failure to raise money in the United States, is a sad disappointment to us, and has not a little embarrassed our operations. So sure was I that our friends in America would aid us in this important object, that immediately after Mr. Teage's departure for the United States I opened negotiations with the chiefs for the purchase of the various tracts of country between this place and Sierra Leone, and, as you are aware, succeeded in securing three important tracts. And for these I am sorry to say but a small portion of the purchase money has been paid, in consequence of being compelled to apply nearly all the money we could possibly raise here to the discharge of the debt incurred for the New Cess expedition.

The chiefs of Gallinas demand one half of the purchase money down on concluding the sale of their territory, which at present, we are not prepared to do: nor have I any idea when we shall be able to meet this demand, certainly not for several years unless you will come to our aid.

In the hope, however, of obtaining timely assistance from the United States I shall keep the negotiations pending until I can hear from you again, at which time I hope to be authorized by you to draw for the \$5,000, referred to in your letter of 31st July last. The amount pledged by Mr. Gurney (£1,000) is not receivable until we shall have actually negotiated the purchase of the whole territory lying between our northern boundary and Sierra Leone, which cannot be effected without at least \$5,000 in hand.

I am exceedingly anxious to secure this territory—indeed, it is important that we do so as soon as possible—particularly in view of the probability that the British blockad-

ing squadron will be withdrawn from this part of the African coast: in the event of which efforts will no doubt be made to revive the slave trade at those old haunts of the slavers: but if they are embraced within the jurisdiction of Liberia it will be impossible.

I am gratified to find that the President, and the Secretary of State of the United States, are favorably disposed towards Liberia; and that there is a prospect of our obtaining a speedy recognition of our independence from the United States Government. The appointment of Rev. Mr. Gurley to visit Liberia to collect statistics and facts respecting the commerce, &c., of this Republic preparatory to introducing the subject of our independence before the United States Senate, is an indication that something is likely to be done. Mr. Gurley is assiduously discharging the duties of his mission, and is collecting much valuable information. He will be able, I have no doubt, to present such a report as will not only convince the Government and people of the United States of the propriety of acknowledging the independence of Liberia, but also of the necessity of extending to the infant government a helping hand.

I am glad to find that the interpretation which our legislature put upon the articles of our agreement with the Society agrees with the understanding of the Executive Committee, and will doubtless meet the approval of the Board of Directors at their annual meeting in January next.

With high regards I have the honor to be, dear sir,

Your obdt. humble servant,

J. J. ROBERTS.

TO REV. WM. McLAIN,  
Washington City.